



Daily Report

East Europe

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Spain's Solana on Bosnia, Future Role of NATO

LD2911000093 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Studio interview with Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana by unidentified announcer; from the "24 Hours" program—live]

[Text] [Announcer] In a few hours, Spanish diplomacy will embark on intense activity that will last during the whole week that is about to begin: From the meeting in Geneva with the three warring factions in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the strengthening of relations between Spain and Morocco, including the meeting in Rome with the ministers of the 53 countries that make up the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the meeting of NATO member countries in Brussels that will prepare the January summit.

In this busy agenda, one has to highlight the efforts by the 12 [European Union members] to bring peace to former Yugoslavia and the future of the Atlantic alliance in the new international order. Foreign Minister Javier Solana, good evening.

[Solana] Yes, good evening, how are you?

[Announcer] The countries that belong to the European Union are going to start a new offensive to bring peace to Bosnia. Mr. Solana, what plans are you taking to Geneva to discuss with the representatives of the three parties in the conflict?

[Solana] At this special meeting—special because it is the first time that the meeting is to take place in the presence of so many representatives of the parties—we are going to try to achieve two things.

First, to do everything possible so that humanitarian aid can reach its destination. As you know, right now the humanitarian aid exists, the United Nations forces are in the field to accompany it, and sometimes the contenders themselves are those who are preventing the humanitarian aid from arriving at its destinations. So to make them face up to their responsibilities so that not only do they not prevent it [from arriving], but they help the humanitarian aid arrive at its destinations.

Second, we are going to do everything possible so that the negotiating package that was on the verge of being approved during the month of September might be given a new impetus; a new impetus that fundamentally has to be linked to the Moslems in Bosnia getting a bigger percentage of land.

[Announcer] Will Spanish humanitarian aid in Bosnia continue or is there any possibility of the Madrid Group not being relieved next January?

[Solana] Spain has a commitment to humanitarian aid in the former Yugoslavia. It has been carrying it out from the beginning. It has even sacrificed human lives, those of our soldiers, so that it might get through, and we still

have that commitment. What we are doing is reflecting out loud, and not only we Spaniards are doing this, the French and English are doing so. If the people for whom the help is intended do not want to be helped, do not allow themselves to be helped, then perhaps [?it may be necessary] to even reconsider the question of helping. But in any case, we will not really raise these questions until winter is over.

[Announcer] Another important meeting, Mr. Solana, is that of the ministers of the NATO member countries. What are the objectives or aims of this meeting?

[Solana] This meeting has basically two points, both designed to prepare for the Atlantic alliance summit at the highest level, that is to say with heads of government and state, which will take place in January. The two points that we want to prepare are, firstly, the new missions of the Atlantic alliance in a different world, in a world where East-West confrontation has fortunately disappeared. What is the alliance's role? It undoubtedly concerns peacekeeping missions, of which we were talking a minute ago. Secondly, the Atlantic alliance's relations with the countries of the former Warsaw Pact—countries such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, that want to join in some way in defense from the perspective of the Atlantic alliance. We must give a response to that wish which those countries have.

[Announcer] Foreign Minister Javier Solana thank you for being on "24 Hours."

[Solana] Thank you.

Spanish, German Ministers on Geneva Talks

LD2711205093 Madrid RNE International in Spanish 1400 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Spain will conduct the talks with the Bosnian Muslims at the European Union meeting on the crisis in former Yugoslavia scheduled for Monday [29 November] in Geneva. This was confirmed this morning in Granada by the foreign ministers of Spain and Germany, Javier Solana and Klaus Kinkel.

Both ministers, who are taking part in the ninth Spanish-German summit in Granada, have explained that in separate meetings concerning the Bosnian conflict held this Saturday, it was decided to divide up the Geneva negotiations between Spain, Germany, and France.

The three countries will maintain bilateral talks with Muslims, Croats, and Serbs respectively.

So the meeting of the [European] Community ministers in Geneva will start with a plenary session; it will be followed by these bilateral talks, and it will finish with talks where everyone will speak to everyone, according to the German minister.

The meeting's agenda includes humanitarian issues, specifically the opening of humanitarian corridors, the

continuation of the Geneva negotiations, and the possibility of an agreement about Krajina, the German minister added. He expressed concern that another focal point of armed conflict might start up in the area.

Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana explained that on Monday he will be the rapporteur in the separate meeting with the Bosnian Muslims, while his counterparts Klaus Kinkel and Alain Juppe will play the same role in talks with the Croats and the Serbs. He said that this meeting is the last opportunity before winter makes the living conditions of Bosnia's population worse.

Greece's Papoulias Meets With Serbia's Milosevic

NC2911114193 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias is representing Greece at the Geneva conference on the Bosnian issue. Late last night, Mr. Papoulias expressed the hope that some results will be achieved. At the same time, he stressed that even if the conference on the Bosnian issue does not bring about spectacular results, this does not mean that there will not be any other opportunities.

Earlier, the Greek foreign minister had a two-hour meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Mr. Papoulias told the journalists that the Serbian president has clearly been persuaded to proceed with concessions,

provided, of course, there will be a corresponding behavior by the Muslims and the Croats. The Greek foreign minister also said the apparent Serbo-Croatian rapprochement on Zagreb's relations with Croatia's Serbs in Krajina is extremely significant.

Later this afternoon, Mr. Papoulias will leave for Rome, where the CSCE conference will open tomorrow. He attached great importance to this meeting and did not rule out the possibility of a meeting with his U.S. counterpart, Warren Christopher. Whether Papoulias and Christopher meet in Rome or not, they will meet in Brussels at the NATO meeting on Thursday. The Greek foreign minister will also meet with his Russian counterpart, Andrey Kozyrev.

Asked by journalists if the question of Skopje's accession to the CSCE will be raised, Mr. Papoulias said that the signs are that no such question will be raised. Responding to another question about whether Albania has recently changed its stand on this issue—that is, Skopje's accession to the CSCE—Mr. Papoulias noted that, according to all reports, Tirana continues to object to Skopje's accession to the international forum. In a statement shortly before he left Ellinikon Airport for Geneva yesterday morning, the foreign minister said that the Greek Government is prepared to address any situation concerning the question of Skopje's name if our 11 [EC] partners decide to recognize this small state diplomatically.

Israeli Foreign Minister Peres Arrives on Visit

LD2811132293 Tirana ATA in English 1304 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 21 (ATA)—The chief of Israeli diplomacy, Shim'on Peres arrived in Tirana on November 28. This is the first visit to Albania of a high ranking official of Israel. Senior authorities have declared before Mr. Peres arrived in Albania that this visit will serve the promotion of relations between our two countries.

Leader of the opposition in Knesset, first premier of the government of national unity, Mr. Peres, who is minister of foreign affairs since July this year, is now in Albania at the invitation of the Albanian foreign minister, Alfred Serreqi, in the context of his tour of some European countries. Mr. Peres is expected to meet today senior Albanian authorities and to give a press conference for reporters.

Mr. Alfred Serreqi welcomed Mr. Shim'on Peres at the Rinas Airport.

Meksi, Serreqi, Peres View Relations

AU2811163793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[Text] [Announcer] Israel and Albania have a common past and present history. The Albanians are winning freedom, while the Israelis are winning peace. The Israeli foreign minister declares the importance of a new chapter between both countries. Let us listen to a report from the visit and meetings of the Israeli delegation in Tirana:

[Koleci] The head of Israeli diplomacy, the 70-year old Shim'on Peres, arrived in Tirana this morning on a two-day visit in Albania. The Albanian official authorities declared yesterday that this visit will be able to serve the new status of relations between the two countries, soon to be implemented with the opening of embassies in Tirana and Tel Aviv.

It was stressed in the meetings that were held with Albanian high personalities this morning that Albania and Israel have a common history of wars and efforts to survive. Today, Albanians are winning freedom and Israel the peace. Both are indispensable and closely related.

Israeli foreign minister and the persons accompanying him were received at Rinas Airport by Albanian counterpart Serreqi and other Foreign Ministry representatives.

Then talks were held between the two delegations chaired by Peres and Serreqi. Both protagonists assessed the meeting as of special importance. Albania can profit from the Israeli diplomatic experience as the missionary

of peace in the Middle East. Education, technical assistance, agriculture, and tourism were considered as fields of cooperation.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that the talks were concentrated on the situation in Albania under the dictatorship and in democracy, and on the situation and problems in the Middle East and the Balkans. Mr. Peres stressed the human factor and science and technology, which have influenced the progress of Israel, and suggested that Albania follow this road. He said that in small countries, the quality of the leading political and state cadres is of special importance and offered Israeli help in this respect.

A meeting with Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi was held. The prime minister said that this is the first contact to establish concrete relations in fields in which both sides are interested. He continued, saying that Albania is convinced of the advantages of this cooperation, because it highly assesses the technological level [passage indistinct] a new chapter between us. The Albanian prime minister broached the idea of creating a joint technical commission to study the possibilities of mutual cooperation and their implementation, particularly in the fields of agriculture, tourism, telecommunications, energy and mining industry.

The Israeli foreign minister upheld this proposal and promised to dispatch experts [words indistinct] Albania. We can help Albania, he continued, in the fields of agriculture, tourism, and health. We will expose our experience, science, and technology to your specialists and will offer specialization scholarships and increase contacts at various levels.

At the end of the meeting, he expressed the goodwill of his government, goodwill that will not be absent in the future, either. During his stay in Tirana, the chief of the Israeli diplomacy Peres will meet with President Berisha after half an hour and two agreements are expected to be signed. Then [words indistinct].

Berisha, Peres Comment on Ties

AU2811214893 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Your visit in Albania undoubtedly marks a new page in the friendly relations between our two ancient nations, President Berisha said. This visit is a great encouragement to bilateral relations that have already started. We would like to further strengthen relations and cooperation with Israel and we think that we can profit a lot from your country's experience. Albanians have had some difficult moments in their history, but they have always preserved their high morale and human values, as displayed toward your compatriots in World War II.

Minister Peres said: We admire you for your efforts in the difficult but consistent road you are following. We feel a deep friendship for Albania and are ready to

strengthen cooperation. The Israeli foreign minister showed interest in the development of democratic processes and reforms in Albania.

They spoke in detail about cooperation in the field of agriculture, telecommunications, science, etc.

President Berisha acquainted Mr. Peres with the situation in the region and the dangers presented by the situation in Kosova, a region historically inhabited by Albanians and their Illyrian forerunners, where Milosevic exerts violence through a police regime. We are for not changing borders through violence but we ask the international community to exert more pressure to achieve a solution to this question.

President Berisha also highly assessed the present Israeli government's efforts and the personal role of Minister Peres in the new processes of a peaceful solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. He considered the Washington peace agreement a triumph of the wisdom of Prime Minister Rabin, of Minister Peres, and Palestinian Liberation Organization Chairman 'Arafat, and expressed the conviction that the governments of neighboring countries will unite in this process of peace, which is of interest to the entire Middle East region.

Cultural, Visa Agreements Signed

AU2911114693 Tirana ATA in English 0943 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—Two agreements, one for cultural and scientific cooperation and education and the other for abolishing visas for diplomats were signed between Albania and Israel November 2 [date as received]. The agreements were signed by Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi and the Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres.

Slovene Delegation Ends Visit, Departs

AU2711202393 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—The visiting delegation of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia, headed by Minister Ivo Bizjak, left Albania on November 25.

During the visit, a bilateral agreement was signed between the Albanian Ministry of Public Order and the Slovenian Ministry of the Interior on cooperation in fighting terrorism, illegal drug traffic, and organized crime. The Slovenian delegation visited several tourist centers as well as the cities of Durres and Berat.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Uzbekistan

AU2411165593 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Today, on 23 November 1993, the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Uzbekistan established

diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level. On this occasion, the desire and readiness to develop bilateral relations further between our two countries was expressed.

Italian Attorney Questions Former Trade Minister

AU2711202193 Tirana ATA in English 0923 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—The former minister of foreign trade and economic relations, Ylli Cabiri, was questioned today as a witness by the Italian attorney, Dr. Evelina Canale, according to a source close to the Tirana district state attorney.

Mr. Cabiri was asked to explain several facts regarding the criminal case on the emergency aid accorded to Albania by the Italian Government for the February-June 1991 period, a mission investigated by Attorney Canale on account of the Italians.

Ms. Canale is expected to question as witnesses many other former officials of the Nano and Ahmeti governments, whether arrested or free.

DP's Tirana Branch Holds Conference

AU2711204293 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 26 Nov 93

["'Democratic Party Will Not Lean Towards Right Wing Extreme'—Third DP Conference for Tirana Holds Proceedings"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—The third DP [Democratic Party] conference of Tirana district was held on November 25. The conference was expected with interest by the public. It would be a confrontation of opposite views, emerging during the latest month with the statement of the DP deputy, Kalakula, in the People's Assembly that "I am proud to be a fascist," as well as of his and his followers views on DP's passing onto the right wing extreme positions.

In his speech, the DP deputy, Petrit Kalakula, expressed himself openly against the DP program and attacked the DP from the position of right wing extremists. He demanded the complete return of properties to the former owners and pronounced himself against the DP thesis as "co-suffering and co-guilty, opponents but brothers," strongly in favour of revenge. In the conference he demanded that in its program DP leans towards the extreme right and expressed reserves about the intellectuals' adherence to the DP according to the criteria of profession.

Other speakers dissociated themselves from the theses launched by Mr. Kalakula in the conference. They resolutely supported the DP program saying that, Kalakula's ideas, his messages, doubtful in their origin, will not influence in or change the program because the program of a party cannot be changed for personal interests and at the same time denounced Mr. Kalakula's careerism.

They witnessed powerful support of the democrats in the capital for the DP, President Berisha and the DP chairman, Selami.

In his speech in the conference, Premier Aleksander Meksi reiterated that DP will not lean towards the extreme right wing positions. Successes, he said, have been achieved thanks to the rigorous application of the DP program. He hailed the intellectuals' adherence to the DP ranks as a support for the party and a guarantee for the democratic process as a whole. He assured the participants in the conference of the continuation of the road followed by the government until now.

At the end of the morning session, the floor was also taken by the DP chairman, Eduard Selami. He said that Mr. Kalakula's thesis for a total return of properties goes beyond the DP program. On this and other problems, DP stands loyal to its program and law approved by the parliament. Regarding the thesis "opponents or brothers," he said that it is a thesis which not only contributed to the victory of democracy on March 22, but it is also one of the factors which guarantees development of

democratic processes in Albania. "Who is against it has no place in the DP. Let the right extremists create their fascist parties. The Democratic Party is the major anti-communist force," Mr. Selami said. "DP has gone down in the history of the Albanian nation and of the former communist Europe as the political force which destroyed communism in Albania. We are in favour of the rule of law. Who is against it, let him withdraw from the DP," Mr. Selami said. Addressing to Mr. Kalakula, he said: "Don't waste all energies against the DP, the government and President Berisha. Spare some energies also against communism. To demand the change of the DP program is not only a dangerous adventure, but it means to play the game of communism."

In the afternoon sitting the leading organs and the chairman of the Tirana DP branch were elected. Mr. Dylber Vrioni won 194 votes, Avenir Kika 123 votes, Engjell Hysengebasi 69 votes, and Petrit Kalakula 13 votes. Mr. Vrioni was elected new chairman of the DP branch for Tirana. He is also the governor of the National Bank of Albania.

**Nuclear Power Agreement With Russia
'Postponed'***AU2911102493 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
25 Nov 93 p 2*

[Article by Lyuba Dimitrova: "Nuclear Power Agreement With Russia Not Foiled, Just Postponed"]

[Text] Power Supply Committee Chairman Nikita Shervashidze told KONTINENT that the signing of the intergovernmental agreement between Bulgaria and Russia on cooperation in the nuclear power field has simply been postponed, not foiled.

Russia expressed reservations on everything related to adding Bulgarian uranium to the fuel of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. In addition, the issue of whether Bulgaria will return the used nuclear fuel to the supplier remained open. Moscow also proposed to remove from the document the text that refers to transferring the responsibility for transporting nuclear materials from one country to another to the location where the materials will be reloaded. Nevertheless, if the text is preserved, Russia will also have to take into consideration the opinion of Ukraine, through whose territory the materials will pass.

Ukraine To 'Do Utmost' To Continue Power Supply*AU2611184293 Sofia BTA in English 1218 GMT
26 Nov 93*

[Text] Sofia, November 26 (BTA)—An agreement has been reached with Ukraine to continue electric power supplies to Bulgaria, BTA was told by the Power Engineering Committee. The committee's leadership believes that there is no immediate danger of electricity rationing, Power Engineering Committee Chairman Nikita Shervashidze said.

When the Ukrainian side declared yesterday that it would not be in position to fulfil the contract for electricity supplies concluded with Bulgaria's National Electricity Company, the committee hurried to contact Ukraine's official representatives: Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev had a meeting with Ukrainian Ambassador in Sofia Oleksandr Vorobyov, the chairman of the Power Engineering Committee talked to Ukrainian Deputy Minister of Power Engineering Oleksiy Sheberstov, and Bulgarian Ambassador to Ukraine Petur Markov contacted Ukrainian Government officials. The Ukrainian side declared that despite the serious difficulties in the country's power supply, Ukraine would do its utmost to keep delivering electricity to Bulgaria until November 28, when Unit 6 of the nuclear power plant at Kozloduy is expected to be brought on stream.

President Zhelev Makes New Military Appointments*AU2711174893 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Text] A decree issued by Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria, appoints the following officers of the Defense Ministry and the Bulgarian Army to new posts:

Major General Engineer Kiril Maznev is relieved from the post of deputy chief of the Military-Economic Sector responsible for military matters and coordination and appointed to the post of chief of the Military-Economic Sector of the Defense Ministry.

Major General (Ivan Binev) is appointed deputy chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff responsible for the Air Force.

Major General Stefan Popov is appointed deputy commander of the Air Force.

Major General (Ivan Parapunov) is appointed commander of Aviation of the Air Force.

Major General Kiril Ermenkov, chief of the Engineering Troops Department of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, is appointed director of the Georgi Rakovski Military Academy.

Major General Angel Angelov is relieved of the post of deputy commander of the First Army and by order of the Defense Minister is appointed chief of staff at the Ravovski Military Academy.

Army Leaders, Yordanov Discuss 'Urgent Problems'*AU2811153593 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 93 p 1*

[Georgi Kardanov report: "Aleksandur Yordanov Promised Army's Cooperation in Resolving Army's Urgent Problems"]

[Text] According to the statistics, there has never been such a meeting in the parliament between the parliament's chairman and the minister of defense and the Army command. Unique in its kind, the meeting took place at the invitation of Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, and took place on 19 November at the National Assembly building. The meeting was attended by Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov; Army General Lyuben Petrov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff; Lieutenant General Tsvetan Totomirov, commander of the Ground Troops; Lieutenant General Mikhov Mikhov, Air Force commander; Rear Admiral Ventseslav Velkov, Navy commander; and Major Generals Lyubomir Vasilev, Gancho Denev, and Metodi Gelev, army commanders.

During the conversation, maintained in a constructive and businesslike spirit for two hours, the participants

discussed the Army's urgent problems and the progress of its reform. Priority was given to the discussion of the draft Bill on Defense and the Armed Forces. The representatives of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff demanded that the adoption of the bill be accelerated because the old bill of 1956 is absolutely unfit to function under the existing conditions and the spirit of the Armed Forces' reform. The chairman of the National Assembly promised to act for accelerating the discussion of the draft bill at the National Assembly commissions, and to bring it as soon as possible to the General Assembly hall.

The issue of the Army budget until the end of 1993 and throughout 1994 was reviewed with a special attention. Mr. Yordanov promised his cooperation and expressed the opinion that this issue will be resolved through sharply intensifying the processes of privatization and the economic reform, as well as the country's tax system.

In addition to those urgent problems the participants also discussed the parliamentary control of the Army, the irrevocable character of the depoliticization in the Army, the military education, the work of the Defense Ministry and the coordination of the work of civilian and military teams within the ministry, the relations of the ministry with the National Assembly Commission on National Security, and so forth. In the context of the last issue Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov proposed to create several additional payroll jobs that will be directly related to servicing the ministry's needs in developing better coordination with the National Assembly Commission on National Security and thus to overcome the delay in adopting draft bills and decisions considered as vital by the Defense Ministry. The chairman of the National Assembly accepted this argument as reasonable.

After the meeting some of the participants made the following statements to our reporter:

Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov: "I am very happy with the spirit and results of the meeting with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov. We put to Mr. Yordanov the Army's basic problems. We met with total understanding on his part, including in anything related to the inadequate military budget. We also exchanged opinions on other vital issues, and both sides are satisfied."

Army Gen. Lyuben Petrov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff: "You know what issue moves the Army today—the adoption of the bill on defense and the Armed Forces. We met with total understanding on the part of the parliament's chairman in anything related to accelerating the bill's discussion in the commissions and placing it as soon as possible on the National Assembly's agenda. We also met with understanding in everything related to the Army's new budget. Mr. Yordanov's sympathy inspired us with hope."

Commentary: Clinton 'Finally' Looking at Europe

AU2611170393 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian
22 Nov 93 p 8

[Maksim Behar commentary: "We, From the Southern Flank"]

[Text] Since his election President Bill Clinton has hardly devoted any attention whatsoever to Eastern Europe, except for Mr. Montgomery's appointment to the post of ambassador to Bulgaria and the undoubtedly deliberate publicity show that preceded his arrival.

The fact that some information has recently leaked about a forthcoming meeting with the leaders of Visegrad Four, immediately before Bill Clinton's expected arrival in Moscow, means that the U.S. President has, nevertheless, decided to a little time to foreign policy matters. After the health bill, after the trade agreement with the North Atlantic Free Trade Association, after the fires in California, and the shooting in Miami, the master of the White House is finally devoting some attention to Europe, and—fortunately—to Eastern Europe in particular.

Even an inexperienced politician could surmise why he is visiting Warsaw or Krakow, of all places, where only the leaders of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia are supposed to meet him. The Eastern bloc, which until recently represented a monolithic structure, cited in all the Western media as a single unit, has already split up. Whether it is their fault or to their credit, anyway, the "top students" remained on one shore, while the others, the "mediocre" ones, are stranded on the other, the southern shore.

We can certainly not dispute the success of the reforms in the aforementioned four East European countries. While the peoples of those states jumped into the cold water during the hot summer of 1989, not even an Ecoglasnost organization existed in Bulgaria. While by the end of 1990 Warsaw, Budapest, Prague and Bratislava were already close to the rescuing shore and the water had warmed up, people on the Southern flank were still denouncing the reformer Leszek Balcerowicz, the "imperialist agents" Jeffrey Sachs and David Lipton, as well as the "CIA specialist" George Soros. This is the difference.

The difference is by no means insubstantial, however. For this reason, precisely, it is in Poland that Bill Clinton will stop to see how things are going in Central Europe.

We have to remain here, on the southern flank.

The other Bill, namely Bill Montgomery, is with us.

Trade Minister Comments on Privatization Issues

AU2811153693 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
19 Nov 93 p 12

[Interview with Valentin Karabashev, Bulgarian deputy prime minister and minister of trade, by Dimitrina Aleksandrova; place and date not given: "Valentin Karabashev Says: They Are Attacking Me For Allegedly Interfering With Personal Interests"]

[Text] [Aleksandrova] Mr. Karabashev, certain statements expressed by the prime minister and by some of your colleagues, created the impression of internal controversies within the cabinet. Do they really exist?

[Karabashev] Occasional differences of opinion between individual ministers, or between cabinet members and the prime minister himself do occur. However, they are settled as soon as the cabinet has taken a decision on the relevant issue. Those ministers who disagreed must comply with the decision. If the disagreement is so great that the cabinet member cannot possibly accept the joint decision, there is only one democratic procedure for him, namely that of resigning.

I would not say that major differences of opinions exist on questions of principle. If they existed, the cabinet could not work in this form.

[Aleksandrova] Can you describe the minor questions on which differences exist?

[Karabashev] It is difficult for me to enumerate them. Certain differences existed on the question of mass privatization. Sometimes we argue over the liberalization of prices, over fuel and electricity prices, or over customs regulations, imports-exports, and so forth. It is difficult to specify all the controversial points and to describe in detail who is opposing whom on what issue. Differing views among various cabinet members within the framework of one and the same program are normal. In the second place, the various ministries and departments within the cabinet have their own interests that their respective leaders are defending from different points of view.

[Aleksandrova] Last Tuesday [16 November] you said that Minister Bikov and the Ministry of Industry are an obstacle for privatization. Why do you think so?

[Karabashev] My statement was not cited accurately. My view of Mr. Berov's statement on the fact that deputy prime ministers may eventually not be ministers was also wrongly quoted. I just expressed my personal opinion that this may not be appropriate from an administrative point of view, but I never accused the prime minister of unscrupulousness.

My statement on the Ministry of Industry and on Minister Bikov, personally, who, among other things, is a good friend of mine, was also misinterpreted. If I have some disagreements with him, they are rather a matter of principle. They are related to our different views on the

management of state-owned property and on the pace of privatization. Our differences are connected with the implementation of our views, rather than with our views as such. This is exactly what I said, and nothing else.

[Aleksandrova] Do I understand that you share the idea of establishing a Ministry of State Property Management and of Privatization?

[Karabashev] As a matter of fact, I am rather inclined to support the idea of restructuring the present Privatization Agency. One way or another, and despite all the criticism to which it is subject, this institution has accumulated some experience and has created a certain form of organization, it has mapped out certain business operations. Its functions could be expanded, but it is within the competence of parliament to decide on the extent to which its functions could be expanded. I would like to stress that the establishment of a Privatization Ministry or the extension of the Agency's functions could take place on the basis of a simple amendment to the Privatization Act.

I would support an extension of the Privatization Agency's functions along with an amendment of its management status, so that it should be more closely linked to the Council of Ministers. It is normal that the executive power should be in a position to implement that part of its policy that is directly connected with economic re- structuring.

[Aleksandrova] Nevertheless, what exactly is this organ supposed to do? Should it transform state firms into private companies?

[Karabashev] The process has almost been completed. The problem is rather whether the Agency should take over the management of the state-owned property and exercise all functions starting from the decision on privatization and ending with the business operation itself. This could be accomplished within the framework of the currently valid legislation through amending the government decree and adopting a new code of regulations on the management of the state-owned share.

Perhaps we should even further expand the Privatization Agency's functions, namely by letting it assume the management of the state share in enterprises that are not incorporated into the private sector, but are of a structure-determining nature. They should be selected by the Council of Ministers on the basis of certain criteria.

[Aleksandrova] Can you describe which enterprises the state intends to keep as its own property and exempt from privatization?

[Karabashev] It is precisely the merging of state enterprises management with privatization in a single institution that can facilitate the decision on which enterprises should be privatized, and which should remain with the state. It would be appropriate for this decision to be adopted by one and the same institution, rather

than by several ones, which, in the long run, is likely to confuse our concepts on the strategy of privatization.

[Aleksandrova] Are you convinced that the lack of such an institution has so far been an obstacle to privatization?

[Karabashev] I am convinced that it is one of the reasons for the slow pace of privatization. Along with numerous other causes, one of which I pointed out on several occasions and which could be avoided by establishing a new institution, I would like to mention the excessive number of civil servants in certain ministries and in the management organs of state-owned business companies. Despite the protestations of the civil servants themselves, claiming that they are assisting the enterprises in their work and exercising state control, this is not true in most cases. The fact is that they are obstructing the privatization process and this is what counts. It is logical not to expect such people to stimulate the privatization process of a given enterprise, considering that this might deprive them of additional income. Naturally, exceptions exist, but they only confirm the rule.

[Aleksandrova] The aforementioned Privatization Ministry could be the most important. What kind of personality should be in charge of it? A deputy prime minister perhaps?

[Karabashev] It should not necessarily be a deputy prime minister. It is important that the individual in question should not only enjoy the government's support, but also that of the parliament at large. It is important to clarify whether the department in question should be elevated to the rank of a ministry and whether the person who is heading it should be a cabinet member.

In this context we must seriously reflect on whether we should not preserve the present structure and management of the Privatization Agency in some form. This makes it possible to implement a collective leadership and to supervise the privatization process. For the time being, I am not in a position to provide a definite answer about which of the options would be the best. This question should be clarified in the process of amending the Privatization Act and of implementing structural changes within the cabinet.

[Aleksandrova] Is it not strange that you should postpone such important cabinet changes to the period after the adoption of the 1994 state budget?

[Karabashev] No, the changes in the functions of the ministries are not likely to exert any impact upon the final figures of the budget.

[Aleksandrova] Why have so many personal attacks against you accumulated recently?

[Karabashev] It is not a very easy question. Some of my actions may have affected certain corporate or personal interests. Those affected have sufficiently powerful resources to start a campaign against me. Any unprejudiced person will see that accusations against me are nonsense and that there is no point in fanning minor problems. Their only purpose is to insult me and to force me into giving up my work.

[Aleksandrova] Nevertheless, presumably you know whose corporate or personal interests you are talking about?

[Karabashev] In certain cases I can guess, but unlike those who are gossiping about me without any proof, I would not accuse anyone without precise evidence. All the evidence I have collected has already been deposited in the right place. For example, we happened to stumble over a very striking case of squandering money at the Ministry of Trade and most probably over a case of corruption at the "Inko" Ltd. I immediately submitted the relevant documents to the Prosecutor's Office and to the commission in charge of corruption cases.

[Aleksandrova] "Inko" was mentioned in connection with the attempts of secret privatization in the Biokhim Bank case. National Assembly Deputy Margarit Mitsev was involved in the affair. Are any other members of parliament behind the attacks against you? I am not talking about Gincho Pavlov, who publicly hinted that you are allegedly involved in corruption?

[Karabashev] I presume that there are such people, and I am even convinced of it. Naturally, I do not solely link their attacks to their involvement with "Inko."

[Aleksandrova] The Pokdrepa Labor Confederation declared itself against the government. Is this fact disturbing you?

[Karabashev] I am disturbed by the fact that some well-known public figures are not as sincere as they should be.

[Aleksandrova] Do you mean that they are saying different things when talking to you?

[Karabashev] No. I have not made any deals with them. It is simply the fact that they declare one thing in public, while doing something quite different. I would like stress that I do not only have Podkrepa in mind. I am just answering your question regarding Podkrepa. I am also referring to the Union of Democratic Forces, which is always declaring itself in favor of early elections, while its very actions are preventing them.

Klaus Reelected ODS Chairman in Second Vote*LD2811203693 Prague CTK in English 1233 GMT 28 Nov 93*

[Text] Koprivnice, North Moravia, Nov 28 (CTK)—In a repeated election, Premier Vaclav Klaus was reelected chairman of the Civic Democratic Movement [ODS] at the party's conference. Klaus was elected by 220 delegates, with 48 voting against him. 272 delegates were present at the election, and they returned 271 voting papers of which 268 were valid.

The delegates had voted in favour of a motion to repeat the election after an irregularity was found in the first election which took place this morning. The number of voting papers returned was found to be four higher than the number distributed, and also higher than the number of delegates present in the hall. Nonetheless, the delegates at first voted that the election, in which there were 219 votes for Klaus and 43 against, be recognised. However, after consultation with Klaus a motion was proposed and passed that the elections be repeated.

'Coalition Thirteen' Discusses Parliament Session*AU2711192493 Prague CTK in English 2233 GMT 25 Nov 93*

[Text] Prague, Nov 25 (CTK)—Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Vaclav Klaus told today's meeting of the Coalition Thirteen that he believed the state budget would be approved in the basic form in which it had been submitted.

The Coalition Thirteen, which meets before every parliamentary session, comprises the chairmen of the four coalition parties, the chairmen of their deputies' groups and the chairman and deputy chairmen of parliament.

Klaus said that today's discussion concerned which matters could be postponed until the first parliamentary session of the new year. He himself disagreed strongly with the idea of postponing the issue of housing benefit until the following session, saying that this was completely unacceptable both to the government and to him personally.

He added that he had managed to persuade the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) representatives against postponing the matter. KDS Deputy Jan Litomisky said yesterday that the party had serious reservations about the government's housing benefit proposal.

If parliamentary deputies did not include the bill on housing benefit in December's session, it would not be the end of the world, Klaus said, but pointed out that as soon as that happened, the government would reverse its decision concerning a certain freeing of rent levels from January 1, 1994. If this happened, the government would not accept rent increases before the above-mentioned benefits were introduced, Klaus said. This is something which I have stuck by and which I consider absolutely fundamental, he added.

Klaus said that no discussion of an amendment to Article 102 of the Criminal Code, on the defamation of the republic had been included in the December parliamentary session. I think this has been made into something of an issue, and yet for us it is really not the issue of the moment, he said.

Zieleniec Meets Kinkel on Czech-German Relations*AU2611170593 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Nov 93 pp 1, 30*

[Jan Kovarik report: "Bonn Will Not Decide on Compensation Prior to the Elections"]

[Text] Bonn—We cannot expect that Bonn would decide to compensate Czech victims of the Nazi regime before the German elections in the fall next year. This is what follows from what Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said after his two-hour meeting with his counterpart Klaus Kinkel in Bonn. Zieleniec was visiting Germany for one day at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Zieleniec said that the approaching elections next year are the factor that makes Germany's position on the matter more difficult. Chancellor Kohl said after his meeting with Czech President Havel in Palatinate that he would personally deal with that matter.

Zieleniec said that he informed Kinkel about the plan to compensate Czech victims of the Nazi regime "in advance."

Glitz Is Skeptical

P. Glitz, Social Democratic Party of Germany deputy, told RUDE PRAVO he was skeptical about the prospects for providing compensation in view of the positions of the Christian Social Union and the government on the matter. According to him, it would be best to establish a foundation to which both sides would contribute, and from which funds could be drawn in the future. It is impossible to compensate people for suffering, anyway, Glitz said. It would be absurd if someone who spent months in a concentration camp would get half a color television set as compensation. This is why I favor establishing a foundation, similar to the one established to compensate the Polish victims of the Nazi regime, Glitz said.

Christian Democratic Union Deputy H. Werner (chairman of the Ackerman Village associating deported Germans of Christian orientation) is of the opinion that all problems, including the problem of deported Germans, should be dealt with in all their complexity. He said that he recognized the fact that more and more Nazi victims are dying, nevertheless he was in favor of an overall solution.

The Czech Republic Will Not Deal with Sudeten Germans

The Czech Government will not deal with Sudeten Germans. This is what Josef Zieleniec said during his lecture in the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and in the Bundestag Foreign Committee. According to him, we should not perceive the Sudeten German problem as a key problem of Czech-German relations. If a dialogue is to be conducted with the Sudeten Germans, then this dialogue should be conducted within the framework of a more complex dialogue between the Czechs and the Germans.

Political forces in both countries should have the courage to stand up to extreme attitudes. Vaclav Havel, as well as Vaclav Klaus had this courage, but not so the German side. Since some German politicians believe that Sudeten Germans claims should be satisfied, the Czech minister stressed that when building Czech-German bilateral relations we must not make political calculations the objective of which is to influence the electorate.

Officials Deny Border Violation by German Police

AU2711203993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Nov 93 p 2

["ina, CTK"-signed report: "According to the Authorities, Germans Do Not Violate the Border"]

[Text] Prague, Bonn—The Czech and German Ministries of Interior officially deny the fact that the German Border Police has repeatedly engaged in illegal operations on the territory of the Czech Republic. Servicemen from the military unit at Tisa, who have reportedly monitored German border policemen's radio communications beamed from Czech territory, have been denied their off-duty leave because of information leaks, however.

The accusation that German border policemen illegally enter the territory of the Czech Republic when fighting organized crime has also been raised by the German ARD television channel.

ARD attributes the German border policemen's course of action to their distrust of their Czech colleagues. The Germans supposedly suspect Czech border policemen of corruption in connection with human trafficking. The spokeswoman for the Czech Ministry of Interior said yesterday that the report about German border policemen infiltrating the territory of the Czech Republic was the result of "noise" in the information flow. She termed relations between the two states' border police as very good.

Havel Seeks NATO Membership for Czechs

BR2611160293 Brussels LE SOIR in French 25-26 Nov 93 p2

[Article by Vaclav Havel: "We Are Part Of The NATO Family"]

[Text] Why are Europe's post-communist countries seeking to become members of NATO? Speaking on behalf of my own country, I would say that there are three main reasons.

First, the Czech Republic is truly located in the center of Europe, which has always been a crossroads for intellectual currents and geostrategic interests. None of the major European conflicts have spared this region during its 1000-year-long history. Wars began and ended on our territory. The main threads of history have sometimes been tied together or untangled here.

Our experience has taught us that we must take an interest in what is happening in the rest of Europe. Such issues always affect us much more than they do other countries. This is why we harbor a heightened sense of obligation towards Europe.

In this connection, our desire to become a member of NATO concerns more than guarantees of international security; it is based on our wish to bear a certain level of responsibility towards the general state of the continent. We do not wish to take without giving. We want to play an active role in the defense of European peace and democracy. All too often, we have directly experienced what indifference to the fate of others leads to, and we are determined not to succumb to this kind of indifference.

A Very Clear Memory of Munich in 1938

This leads us to the second reason. We have always belonged to the western sphere of European civilization and we share the values on which NATO was founded, the defense of which is its *raison d'être*. We are not simply concerned with taking on values that have come from the outside. Over the centuries, we have made our own contribution to creating and maintaining them. So why should we not take part in defending them?

The third reason is geopolitical. We have a very clear memory of the Munich crisis in 1938 when, without being consulted, a part of our country was used as a bargaining chip with Hitler. Munich not only meant the inability of the western democracies to tackle the Nazi demon—an inability for which the West paid dearly—but also signalled the collapse of Europe's collective security at that time.

This experience taught us how important it is for such an exposed country to be solidly involved—both in its own interest and in the general interest—in an efficient collective security system.

In recent years, Czechoslovakia has played a key role in dismantling that instrument of Soviet hegemony, the Warsaw Pact. We had hoped that what we were dismantling was the last obstacle to our participation in a security system that would defend democracy in Europe. If this system refuses to accept us, some people in Prague might be led to conclude, bitterly, that NATO was

punishing us for having helped destroy its traditional enemy and, with it, its reason for being.

The Czech Republic is not only the thing at stake here. The real meaning of NATO is also at stake—how and to what extent it chooses to widen its field of activity. With the end of the Cold War, NATO lost its main strategic adversary but it has not lost its purpose. I believe the alliance will find its future meaning in three roles.

First, it must remain one of the guardians of the internal stability of a democratic Europe. Then, it must constitute an instrument of collective defense against any external aggression. Thirdly, it is vitally important for the democracies to support liberty and democracy anywhere in Europe, even to the point of defending them. If they reject this role, they would clearly be running risks themselves.

However, while NATO must remain functional, it cannot suddenly open its doors to all comers. We do not need a NATO without bounds or definition, a NATO that has too many internal differences and that is too unstable and immobile.

We Belong to the West

Just a glance at the map and the history books clearly shows that it is hard to imagine a permanent situation of peace, security and order in Europe if peace and order are not assured in the central European countries.

The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia—as much as Austria and Slovenia—clearly belong to western European civilization. They adhere to its values and have their roots in the same traditions. Moreover, a stable central European neighbor borders the traditionally agitated Balkans and Asia, where the implantation of democracy and the market economy is a slow and painful process. In short, it is a key area for European security.

The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia are simply declaring their affinity with an institution to which they intrinsically belong, where they see their interests would be best met and in which they would actively participate. This is why I believe these countries should logically be considered as priority candidates for rapid membership of NATO.

By accepting them, NATO would be expanding in the most natural way, and not just geographically. This does not mean closing the doors in the future on other post-Communist countries in the process of building democracy and adopting the market economy; perhaps they could be let in a number of intermediate stages.

NATO should gradually open up to the new European democracies, in such a way that it not only takes account of candidates' security needs, and geopolitical logic, but also—and especially—these new democracies' determination to defend freedom and the rule of law state. If NATO were to take this path, it would find an answer to

the challenge now facing us and would evolve towards a genuine pan-European security structure.

The debate is starting up again in America. To what extent should America provide security guarantees to Europe, and to what extent should it think of itself first? I am convinced that the American presence is still necessary in Europe. Throughout the 20th century, it has not only been Europe that has paid the price of American isolationism, but the United States too. The less the United States became involved immediately in European conflagrations, the more it had to sacrifice by the end of these conflicts.

I believe that, even now, when a new Europe is taking shape spectacularly, America should not give up its share of the responsibility for the future of Europe, because if we reach a situation in which Europe no longer drags the rest of the world into war, but, on the contrary spreads peace and tolerance, everyone would benefit.

Extending an Area of Democracy Toward Russia

Relations between NATO and Russia, as well as the other countries of the former Soviet Union, are much more complicated. I can only see two possibilities. The first possibility is that the democratic forces win out in Russia—forces which understand that NATO is not Russia's enemy, but its partner, and that NATO's expansion would not be a hostile evolution but would bring an area of democracy and prosperity closer to Russia, something which would be in Russia's vital interest.

The second possibility in Russia would be that forces still smitten with the imperial ambitions of the former Soviet Union would temporarily gain the upper hand. These would be forces that are chauvinist, pan-Russian, crypto-communist, and crypto-totalitarian.

These sorts of leaders would vigorously protest the admission of the former USSR satellite states into a NATO that would be expanding toward Russian borders. They would not view that as the progress of democracy, peace, and prosperity, but as the encroachment of an evil spirit called the West. The West would be making the most serious of mistakes if it yielded to such pressures.

This would mean the erosion of all the values the West represents. It would encourage imperialist ambitions. It would be selling out on those nations that had invested so much in fighting for their own freedom and, consequently, it would be trading away the liberty of the West.

If the West was placed in this kind of dilemma it would discover once again that the fate of the whole planet goes hand in hand with the fate of Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest. Vaclav Havel is a writer and was leader of the opposition under the Communist regime. He is now President of the Czech Republic.

Russia Accused of Exerting Pressure Over NATO

AU2711172893 Prague CTK in English 1400 GMT 26
Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 26 (CTK)—Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka told CTK today that Russia was stepping up its effort to have a say in decision-making on NATO membership of Central and East European countries. It rests exclusively with the Czech Republic and NATO to decide about the former's membership of the alliance, Bratinka said and added: Nothing like this can be decided in Moscow.

He said the Czech Republic recognized Russia's legitimate interest in its security, but pointed out that the interest would be best ensured if Russia respected the sovereignty of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The head of the Russian intelligence, Yevgeniy Primakov, published on Thursday [25 November] an analysis according to which NATO's extension would be at variance with Russia's security interests. Unofficial sources said the document had been supported by the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Russian Army.

Reacting to Primakov's analysis on Thursday, the political adviser to the Russian Foreign Minister, Galina Sidorova, said that Russian diplomacy did not consider NATO a threat to Russia. She said every state, including Central and Eastern Europe, has the right to ensure its security with all available means, including NATO membership. But Russia considers NATO's extension without its participation counterproductive, Sidorova added.

ODA Rejects Russian Statement on NATO

AU2711165193 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT 26
Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 26 (CTK)—The Czech Republic must be sovereign in deciding on guarantees of its security, Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda said today

recommended simply not to accept Russia's negative position on the country's entry in NATO.

From the viewpoint of international relations, a smaller country cannot be considered less sovereign than a bigger one, for instance, the one which has nuclear weapons.

This erroneous opinion was present in Brezhnev's doctrine and other "pragmatic" ideas about arrangement in Europe and in the world in the past decade, Kalvoda said. He was reacting to a statement by the head of the Russian intelligence, Yevgeniy Primakov, on Thursday [25 November], who expressed himself against admission of new members to NATO.

Havel Cited on U.S.-Europe-Russia Relationship

AU2911103893 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 26
Nov 93

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Europe must learn to live in an association both with the USA and Russia, Czech President Vaclav Havel reportedly told Miguel Angel Martinez, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (CE), during their meeting today. He was quoted at a press conference by spokesman Jiri Sitler from the Office of the President of the Republic.

Europe has to learn to respect the fact that it lies between these two nations, Havel added, according to Sitler. Europe is concerned that Russia should follow a path to democracy and prosperity, Martinez said, adding that this concern is reflected in the frequency of contacts between the CE and Russia.

The two men agreed that the structures which work towards European unification—both existing ones and those which are still forming—must coordinate. Sitler also reported them as saying that the range of nations taking part in the process of European integration is growing. Before his visit to the Czech Republic, Martinez wrote to Havel appreciating his personal initiative shown in his address at the CE October summit in Vienna.

HZDS Deputies Group Resigns; Elections Held**Meciar Cited on Resignations***AU2711175393 Prague CTK in English 1711 GMT
25 Nov 93*

[Text] Kosice, east Slovakia, Nov 25 (CTK)—The political leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) recommended on Monday [22 November] to the leaders of the HZDS parliamentary group that they resign so that new leaders could be elected on Friday, Slovak Prime Minister and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar told journalists today. It cannot be ruled out that the very same people would be elected, he added.

Meciar said this move was linked to the fact that only deputies from Bratislava were represented in the HZDS club and that a proper connection with other regions did not exist. Another reason was the appearance of the coalition with the Slovak National Party (SNS), Meciar said. He characterized changes in the club's leadership as a new stage in the movement's activity.

Asked by CTK whether or not the reason for the resignation of the club's leadership was criticism from the HZDS's political leadership in connection with parliament's vote of no-confidence in former Health Minister Viliam Sobona last week, Meciar reiterated his explanation.

Referring to a meeting of the HZDS Council in Bratislava today convened by HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Kovac Meciar said that it had been prepared earlier and would not deal with the situation within the parliamentary group.

According to Ivan Laluha, chairman of the HZDS Parliamentary Club, it was an ordinary election of a new leadership as many shortcomings had surfaced in the club's activity. The club's leadership had decided to resign on the basis of recommendations from organs of our movement, Laluha said in an interview with the Slovak daily PRAVDA. I see nothing dramatic in that, he said. At the same time Laluha admitted that there were considerable problems both in the club and in the movement.

Opposition Leader Comments*AU2711184893 Prague CTK in English 1411 GMT
25 Nov 93*

[Text] Kosice, east Slovakia, Nov 25 (CTK)—Current developments in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) will mean, in the best case, clearer political differentiation within the movement, in the worst, its complete disintegration, Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss said today.

Weiss was referring to yesterday's resignation of the leadership of the HZDS Deputies' Group—Chairman Ivan Laluha and three deputy chairmen and one deputy chairwoman.

He said the developments were the result of the international isolation of the HZDS, which does not have a political partner abroad, and the disagreement of some HZDS deputies with the Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's methods of government.

The possibility that a coalition comprising the disaffected HZDS deputies and the Slovak National Party (SNS), its present coalition partner, the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and one of the Hungarian parties might now be formed could not be ruled out, he told journalists. Such a coalition would, however, only want to control the process of privatization, not lead Slovakia out of crisis.

Weiss equally did not rule out the possibility that an HZDS-SDL coalition could be formed, but that would only be on condition that fresh elections be held at the earliest possible date. It certainly could not survive the two and a half years until the elections as currently scheduled. The political crisis in Slovakia can only be solved by early elections.

He described the differences between the SDL and the KDH as being antagonistic views on privatization, the function of president and the matter of restitution of former church property.

At the same press conference the chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS), Jaroslav Volf, said the political definition and diversification within the HZDS was continuing and the movement was held together only by the Meciar's strength of will.

The SDL is the strongest opposition party in Slovakia with 28 seats in the 150-seat parliament. The HZDS-SNS government coalition has 80 seats in total. The SDSS does not have parliamentary representation.

Press Views Resignations*AU2811145393 Prague CTK in English 0905 GMT
25 Nov 93*

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Nov 25 (CTK)—Many shortcomings, criticized by a number of deputies, appeared in the work of the HZDS (governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) group of deputies, former chairman of the HZDS group of deputies Ivan Laluha says in an interview with the left-leaning daily PRAVDA.

Laluha dismisses the suggestion that the resignation of the leadership of the group was connected with conclusion of the coalition between the HZDS and the SNS (Slovak National Party) and also denies the speculation that it could have been evidence of creation of factions inside the HZDS. What will follow, is a different matter, but right now just the improved work of the club matters, he answers.

Asked by the paper on the possible departure of some HZDS deputies, Laluha replies: I do not know anything about this.

In case of a better coordination it was possible for the group of deputies to prevent removal of Health Minister Viliam Sobona, I guess, former first deputy chairman of the HZDS group of deputies Vladimir Bajan says in the interview with the pro-government SMENA. He adds that elementary mistakes, or in words of some colleagues also errors appeared in some votings.

Meciar virtually forced the chairman of the HZDS group of deputies to resign on Monday [22 November], the trade union daily PRACA says, and adds that Laluha's resignation is surprising as he was confirmed in his position only a few months ago and in any discussion on the possible HZDS disintegration consequently defended Meciar's thesis on the holy union.

Just the suspicion that Laluha liked President Michal Kovac was enough for Meciar, the paper says. The daily forecasts a heated debate of the HZDS caucus as Meciar will mount decisive offensive to maintain the HZDS's unity. Meciar's decision to get the movement into order will challenge the social democratic wing in the movement, represented by Laluha, Foreign Minister Moravcik, and Deputy Premier Roman Kovac. [passage omitted]

Commentary Considers Resignations

AU2811145493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Stress in the Movement"]

[Text] The resignation (or dismissal?) of the leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Club of Deputies is only another in a series of signals that the stress within the ruling movement is beginning to resemble a pressure cooker. The only question is when the safety valve will give in and who will be swept away by the overpressure of hot steam.

The resignation bears out that, obviously, the cup of patience has run over. The proverbial last drop was, apparently, the decision by the HZDS chief to involve in the game the movement's former Federal Assembly deputies as substitutes for those deputies who will go as a consequence of the adoption of the law on the conflict of interests. Closely connected with this is also the plan that, at the movement's upcoming meeting at Plachtince, National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputies for the HZDS should vow their allegiance to Vladimir Meciar.

The aim of that oath is unconditional agreement with any plans by the HZDS chief, including the possibility, being considered once again, of calling early parliamentary elections, in which not too many of the incumbents would receive Vladimir Meciar's confidence and gain a

place on the slate of candidates. Hence, they are set to lose their not exactly worst job and the benefits associated with it.

Yet this is not the only catalyst of the process of disintegration within the movement. Many deputies are dissatisfied, for one reason or another, with their leader's continuing line of confrontation and that compels them to attend to their political future.

The wide-spectrum movement of all colors of the rainbow is cracking along several fault lines. What is more, the rapid pace of events within the HZDS has sent a serious warning signal to the Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Council, which is to reach a decision [on its future within the HZDS-SNS coalition] this weekend.

All these events and their consequences indicate that, despite the frosty weather, the atmosphere on the political scene will apparently overheat, to the brink of open confrontation.

New Leadership Elected

AU2911103693 Prague CTK in English 2320 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Plachtince, central Slovakia Nov 26 (CTK)—Tibor Cabaj was elected chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Deputies' Group at today's meeting of the group here. Marta Ajbekova, Marian Kelemen, Vladimir Bajan and Imrich Mori were elected members of the group.

The members of the former leadership of the Deputies' Group resigned on November 23 after their work was criticised by the HZDS leadership in connection with the meeting of parliament at which there was a vote of no confidence in the then Health Minister Viliam Sobona, who was subsequently dismissed.

Vladimir Meciar, Slovak premier and chairman of HZDS, said that when the HZDS Deputies' Group was the group of a minority party, it was successful the governing HZDS lost its majority in parliament earlier this year after several HZDS deputies left the party [sentence as received]. However, as soon as it became the group of a majority coalition, it began to fail, with the vote on Sobona. This is a reason for anxiety, Meciar said, adding that it was a reason for people in the movement to explain to themselves what mistakes had happened and where.

Meciar said that at today's meeting the deputies who had voted for the resignation of Sobona were asked to declare themselves. Nobody did. It became clear that the deputies had shown one another their papers before voting, in order to assure one another of their mutual solidarity and support and show that they were not in favour of the dismissal, Meciar said.

Another aim of today's meeting was to increase the coordination between the government and the deputies' club in creating laws. Meciar said that deputies should

participate in legislative processes from their very beginning. He added that henceforth the HZDS would elect leaders of the Deputies' Group every six months.

One of the recommendations made at today's meeting was that the word stream not be used any longer in connection with the HZDS. Meciar said, explaining that the movement was to be seen as a unified subject. Given the various orientations of its members, he said, it was not right to talk about currents, but about a single spectrum whose opinions were precisely defined and whose programme definite.

Meciar said the HZDS deplored the attempts of the other political parties to overturn it. The HZDS condemns these attacks on its movement, which have nothing in common with journalistic culture and nothing at all to do with the objective truth, he added.

The meeting also dealt with preparations for the local elections which are to take place next autumn. We want to win them, said Meciar.

Official Urges HZDS Coalition Without Meciar

*AU2711211093 Prague CTK in English 0933 GMT
23 Nov 93*

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Nov 23 (CTK)—Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS) Anton Hrnko told today's union daily PRACA that he still advocates the coalition of the SNS and the HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) as it is the best solution for Slovakia. But not with its leader HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar, he adds.

Meciar was not interested in the July first round of the coalition talks in the stabilization of the situation but in the strengthening of his own power. We offered a solution in the economic sphere, Hrnko says, and adds that when Meciar found that he was holding talks with people who were not eager to get positions but were striving for an equal partnership, he brushed aside the coalition.

After the first round of the talks had finished, Meciar focused on dividing the SNS, Hrnko claims. We have to admit that he managed as he had experience in this field with the disintegration of the Public Against Violence (VPN) and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), he notes.

Hrnko calls the government a team of mostly obedient people in which the minister does not administer his field as he just implements Meciar's ideas.

The whole second round of the HZDS-SNS coalition talks occurred behind the backs of the SNS leadership. The SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak was faced with a fait accompli and had two alternatives: either to save his honor and to break the party, or to be humiliated and keep it together. [passage omitted]

'Alliance of Democrats' Holds First Congress

*LD2811193393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] Delegates of the constituent congress of the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic [Aliancia demokratov Slovenskej republiky, ADSR] met in Bratislava's Forum hotel today. The congress was greeted by President Michal Kovac, U.S. Charge d'Affaires Eleanor Sutter, and officials of other diplomatic missions. Charles Kennedy, chairman of the British Liberal Democratic Party, as well as representatives of some Slovak political parties and movements were also present.

The congress has adopted the statutes—the political program—of the party and has elected officials of this new entity on our political scene.

Our editor Ivan Samel interviewed Milan Knazko, the new ADSR chairman:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Samel] Officials of several parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties took part in the congress as guests. Could you tell us with whom, in particular, you intend to cooperate?

[Knazko] Of course, it is no secret that parties that lay stress on a certain continuity of the economic transformation—parties that stress the protection of an individual, the protection of one's property, and the development of business activities of independent financial institutions—such parties and such programs are closer to us. These are the parties that try to avoid dirigism. To be more specific, there will certainly be more understanding with parties such as are one part of the Slovak National Party—the Party of Businessmen and Small Entrepreneurs [Strana podnikatelov a zivnostnikov] or the Christian Democratic Movement, but to a great extent with the Social Democrats as well. We would like to become an element of cooperation in Slovak political life. [passage omitted] [end recording]

One more report has just reached our studio. The delegates of the constituent congress of the ADSR elected their leadership. We have told you already that Milan Knazko became the chairman. The names of deputy chairmen are now known as well. These are Rudolf Filkus and Jan Budaj.

Government Fails To Approve 1994 Draft Budget

*AU2611201693 Prague CTK in English 1113 GMT
25 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava Nov 25 (CTK)—The Slovak Government failed to approve the state budget for 1994 at its session which ended in the night of Friday [26 November], nourishing the opposition's fears that in January Slovakia will have only a provisional budget.

The opposition has warned on several occasions that the delay in the preparation of the budget may cause parliament not to be able to approve it at its December session.

The draft budget is to be further consulted until Sunday, and the government is to approve it sometime next week, a communique from the government session said.

IMF Credits Depend on 'Design' of 1994 Budget

AU2811161193 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak
25 Nov 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "The Mission Is Leaving Satisfied"]

[Text] A two-week stay by an IMF mission in the Slovak Republic ended with the conclusion of a skeleton agreement yesterday. Members of the mission studied in Slovakia the possibilities of releasing the second installments of the STF (Systematic Transformation Facility) and Stand-by credits. The mission noted that the Slovak Republic's monetary and budgetary results in 1993 were satisfactory. The extension of the above credits, and their amount, will be conditional on the design [konstrukcia] of the 1994 budget. The Board of IMF Executive Directors, which decides on such operations, will meet in January 1994.

This latest IMF mission, the fourth this year (February, May-June, October, and November), arrived in Slovakia on 8 November.

Knazko Criticizes Handling of Jeszenszky Visit

AU2711192393 Prague CTK in English 2243 GMT
25 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 25 (CTK)—The postponement of Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's visit is proof of the definitely irresponsible approach of both sides to the prepared visit and an unfortunate move by the Slovak foreign policy, Milan Knazko, former Slovak foreign minister, said today.

Knazko who is currently chairman of the Alliance of Slovak Democrats (SAD) Preparatory Committee, told journalists that Jeszenszky's visit, agreed and then canceled, testified to the fact that the Slovak Foreign Ministry was not sufficiently coordinating its activities with other ministries and to a lack of coordination within the ministry itself.

Knazko said he firmly believed that Hungarians in Slovakia were aware of a trap into which citizens of Slovakia would fall if they failed to differentiate inter-state relations from the rights of national minorities. Ethnic minorities should not be used as hostages in inter-state relations, Knazko said.

Referring to the current situation in the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in connection with the resignation of the HZDS Parliamentary Groups' leaders, Knazko said that the HZDS was definitely experiencing an internal crisis which should clarify its further orientation.

Jan Budaj, a SAD Preparatory Committee member, pointed to unstable situation within the HZDS at both

the regional and governmental levels. He said that the government was not sure whether the coalition between the HZDS and the Slovak National Party (SNS) really existed and whether it would last.

Slovak, Hungarian Committees Discuss Minorities

AU2711173093 Prague CTK in English 2257 GMT
24 Nov 93

[Text] Komarno, Nov 24 (CTK)—Slovak policies on ethnic minorities are based on European documents signed by Slovakia, Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Slovak Parliament's Foreign Committee, told CTK today after a meeting between Slovak and Hungarian parliamentary Foreign Committees.

He said that the issue of ethnic minorities was tantamount to Central European stability and regional security.

The meeting was a success, Laluha said in contrast to skeptical voices which followed the statements made in Debrecen by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. It served to reestablish mutual trust between the Slovak and Hungarian delegations, Laluha said, as well as form a mechanism for conducting further talks between the two parliamentary bodies.

Foreign Affairs Official on Hungarian Relations

AU2811161093 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Slovak Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas; place and date not given: "We Are Not Claiming That There Is No Room for Improvement"]

[Text] After a number of delays, the delegations of the Hungarian and Slovak parliaments' Foreign Affairs Committees will meet on 24 November. The deputies will begin the talks in the Town Hall in Komarom, Hungary, in the morning, and will conclude them in Revkomarom on the Slovak side in the afternoon. In an interview with NEPSZABADSAG before the meeting, Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in Bratislava, summed up the Slovak ideas.

[Farkas] What will be the major issues?

[Laluha] Within bilateral relations, we will first of all review the position of the national minorities in both countries, paying special attention to the parliaments' ways of solving problems. We will also discuss the current issues of our inclusion in European political, economic, and security structures.

[Farkas] The Hungarian-Slovak foreign ministerial meeting planned for this weekend has been postponed. To what extent will this influence the meeting on 24 November?

[Laluha] Having learned about the postponement of the visit by [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Jaszenszky, we wondered whether it would also be expedient for us to choose a different time and let the governments solve the remaining problems. However, we made a unanimous decision to hold this meeting as scheduled.

[Farkas] What means do you have to create a good atmosphere?

[Laluha] Naturally, parliaments do not have the same means as governments do. However, we can make recommendations and we can supervise—and we wish to use these opportunities. Joint initiatives might even emerge. In a common geopolitical environment, we are and will remain neighbors and our good-neighborliness is also important for the European Union if we want to join it in the future. Increasing the number of border crossing points and improving our trade links can contribute to this.

[Farkas] You mentioned the position of national minorities in the first place among the issues to be discussed in Komarom. A few days ago, Jaszenszky said that this is inseparable from the basic agreement. The Hungarian foreign minister's statement was met with loud indignation by Slovak politicians. Why?

[Laluha] It is a fact that Jaszenszky's statement had an unpleasant effect on us because he questioned us about the fundamental rights of the Hungarian national minority. Well, we are not saying that there is no room for improvement, but we ensure the Hungarian citizens'

basic human and civic rights to the same extent as our own. We should indeed improve regulations on how names are written, and settle the issue of dual language place names—this was also included in the recommendations of the Council of Europe. However, after the Council of Europe representatives studied the situation in South Slovakia, they did not come to the same conclusions as were mentioned in the speech of the Hungarian foreign minister. We can interpret this as some kind of fib before the coming elections, but it is definitely a fact that it does not contribute to creating a better atmosphere. We will actually suggest it to our Hungarian colleagues in Komarom that both sides accept a standard proposal initiated by a third party such as the CSCE. This standard has been in preparation for two years now and on the basis of this the solution of the national minority issue in our countries can be examined through an international, or supranational, approach.

Russian Delegation Arrives in Bratislava for Talks

*LD2811191593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Nov 93*

[Text] A delegation of the Russian Federation, led by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov, arrived in Bratislava today to attend the first session of the intergovernmental Russian-Slovak commission for trade, economic, and technological cooperation. Their talks will begin 29 November. They were welcomed by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik at Milan Rastislav Stefanik airport.

National Defense Bodies Facing Reorganization

*LD2611185193 Warsaw PAP in English 1718 GMT
26 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—President Lech Walesa chaired Friday a meeting of the National Defence Committee (KOK) which decided to reorganize the structure of the highest state bodies responsible for defence.

The KOK decided that it should be replaced by a future Council of National Security (RBN) to be the highest organ of the state responsible for defence and security. The KOK also supported President Walesa's proposal that a government committee for defence affairs be set up.

The replacement of KOK with the RBN requires legislative changes, including amending constitutional provisions. The KOK at its session Friday asked the government to urgently start the legislative procedure in this respect.

As soon as the necessary legal changes take effect, President Lech Walesa will appoint members of the RBN. The government will be under the obligation to implement RBN's decision, once the body starts functioning.

The newly proposed government committee for defence affairs will be an advisory body and will also be responsible for the execution of RBN's decisions.

Today's meeting of the KOK was attended by its statutory members, including the prime minister, the Sejm and Senate speakers, the ministers of finance, national defence, foreign affairs, presidential aides Mieczyslaw Wachowski and Jerzy Milewski.

President To Lead New National Security Council

*LD2911104793 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in
Polish 0900 GMT 29 Nov 93*

[Text] Jerzy Milewski, head of the National Security Office, who appeared on the Polish radio first program, has announced that the future national security council responsible for matters of the state defense will be led by the president and will include the prime minister and members of the government. According to Milewski, the national security council will be set up within few months.

Milewski also announced that the prime minister would lead the committee for defense matters of the council of ministers. The committee is to be a government executive body dealing with defense and security issues.

Defense Ministry Leadership Holds News Conference

*AU2811153493 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish
18 Nov 93 pp 1, 2*

[Janusz B. Grochowski report: "News Conference by the Ministry of National Defense Leadership"]

[Text] "Poland is not abandoning the road to NATO, but this road must be altered. The civilian-military core of the Defense Ministry is going to be reduced in size and made more efficient," said Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense, and Jerzy Milewski, first deputy minister, at a news conference at the Ministry of National Defense on 17 November. Przemyslaw Grudzinski, deputy minister of national defense responsible for defense policy, tendered his resignation.

"Apart from a six-month period of stagnation, the army reforms have proceeded at a pace permitted by the national budget," said Minister Kolodziejczyk, who added that a careful assessment of the effects of the restructuring inside the Ministry would be carried out toward the end of the year. Kolodziejczyk's predecessor, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, had also planned essential changes, but the need for personnel reductions and a reduction in the powers of various civilian and military Ministry structures has become particularly evident recently. "Needless to say, there is not going to be any revolution," said the minister. "The main point of the changes is to transfer to the General Staff all those areas of responsibility that have a direct effect on the functioning of the armed forces. A commander is responsible for the training and upbringing of soldiers, therefore these matters should be under the control of the chief of the General Staff."

Jerzy Milewski, who is also chief of the Office of National Security, is going to be responsible for defense policy, and also partly responsible for social affairs. He will thus take over the tasks of two undersecretaries of state in the Ministry—Bronislaw Komorowski and Przemyslaw Grudzinski. "This will improve cooperation between the Defense Ministry and the Office of National Security, as well as between the Belvedere and the government. It will also prevent a duplication of tasks," said Milewski.

Another thing it will prevent is possible conflicts. "Cooperation is possible when there is goodwill. If there is no goodwill, this cooperation falls apart, because there is an absence of legal regulations." Kolodziejczyk and Milewski concurred that for this very reason it is necessary to amend that part of the law on the general duty to defend Poland that deals with the powers of the defense minister and chief of the General Staff. Work on the appropriate draft has already reached an advanced stage. In addition, in cooperation with the Interior Ministry, work is under way on draft laws on martial law and states of emergency, and on threats to the environment.

Also requiring change is the general attitude toward the defense industry. "It should be accorded the same amount of care as the Polish Army itself," said J. Milewski. "The Polish arms industry should be the basic source of supply for our armed forces. Therefore we must pull it out of its stagnation with the aid of selective equipment orders placed by the Defense Ministry." Needless to say, this industry is also in need of restructuring, according to J. Milewski. "Thirty-one weapons factories is too much for our needs. The only firms we need are those whose output, at least 50 percent of it military, is crucial for the country's defense capability. And these firms should be offered special protection."

Minister Kolodziejczyk affirmed Poland's hopes to join the Western system of defense. Nevertheless, NATO must undergo a transformation because in its present shape, now that its potential enemy the Warsaw Pact has gone, it is no more than a relic of history. "Pity that this transformation is so slow," he said.

Following its transformation, NATO could become the pivot of a European security system. The American "Partnership for Peace" initiative, in its present rather vague shape, does not satisfy Polish aspirations.

In Minister Kolodziejczyk's opinion the Visegrad Group may play a significant role both in accelerating an integration with NATO, and in increasing the Visegrad countries' sense of security. Soon there is to be a meeting of the defense, foreign, and industry ministers of the G-4 countries, which will lay down joint tactics to be pursued prior to the January NATO summit and beyond. Joint activity is necessary not only to demonstrate our cohesion, but also because it is unrealistic to expect any single country to be ready for NATO membership sooner than the others.

Minister Kolodziejczyk and Milewski said that, apart from NATO admission, the principles of Poland's defense policy continue to be European disarmament and good relations with all neighbors. This also applies to Russia, whose new military doctrine the ministers described as a "camouflage of the old USSR doctrine for short-term needs." Nevertheless, Poland is not going to fight over doctrines, they said.

Minister Kolodziejczyk extolled the work of Deputy Minister Grudzinski and offered him a new job in the Ministry. But Grudzinski decided to tender his resignation because, he said, he has other professional plans and does not wish to restrict Minister Kolodziejczyk's freedom to choose his colleagues. Minister Kolodziejczyk said that Minister Grudzinski's resignation does not rule out further cooperation between them.

Defense Conference Opens in Rembertow

WS2611145193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
26 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by M.W.: "It Is a Good Thing That NATO-Mania Is Over; Polish Military Theory"]

[Text] "Changes that occurred in the late 1980's and early 1990's, made it necessary to formulate a new and uniquely Polish military theory. That is because we continue to be outside of military alliances, and we have neither formal nor informal security guarantees," said General Dr. Boleslaw Balcerowicz, Dean of the Strategic and Defense Department of the National Defense Academy, during the opening of a conference entitled "Directing the State Defense System," held at the Academy's headquarters in Rembertow near Warsaw.

"It is good that the peak period of NATO-mania is already behind us," he added. At least we know now that we have to be realistic, which means relying exclusively on our own resources. As an example of a nonsense-type of defense planning, the general cited dissolution of three divisions stationed in the east (he meant a 1989 order by the then Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki—M.W.) which happened "just a few days before" the Warsaw Pact was dissolved.

The Army is still under an obligation to implement Order No. 7 of March 1991, regarding perfecting the art of war. Polish military strategy must be based on defense self-sufficiency, but at the same time, our country is willing to take part in an alliance, a coalition, or to become a member of a joint security system. The Polish Army must be prepared to face any kind of danger, and to settle local conflicts. Establishment of a popular, national defense system, would play an important part in that regard. "Poland's strategy should be of a mixed, defense-offensive nature, which would combine measures by operational troops, with territorial defense, popular armed resistance, and self-defense by the people," said General Balcerowicz as a way of summing up.

The general himself, and other participants whose statements were an introduction to a subsequent debate (Colonel and Assistant Professor Dr. Jozef Marczak, and Colonel and Assistant Professor Dr. Ryszard Wroblewski), stressed that Poland wants to prevent aggression or any other kind of military operation on the country's territory. The Polish defense system must be such as to render such operations not worthwhile. Debate during the conference's first day (it takes place behind closed doors on the second day), concentrated on possibilities of defending the country's territory against the aftermath of possible dangers posed to Poland's security. It was also stressed that there is a strong will to defend the country's independence, by the entire nation. One of the speakers stated that there are two main possibilities of Poland getting involved in military operations: Either internal turmoil which could provoke foreign intervention, or turmoil in an adjacent country—the latter scenario is more probable and it is also more likely to happen sooner than the first scenario.

'No Problems' With Russian Oil, Gas Supplies

LD2911120293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] There are no problems with supplies of crude oil and gas from Russia. We are certain of this after checking with the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation. Leslaw Podkanski, the head of the ministry, who returned from Moscow several days ago, told us that the Russian side confirmed to him that any quantity of crude oil that has been ordered or contracted will be delivered. We can even increase this quantity if we want.

The Gazprom enterprise, which deals with production and distribution of gas in Russia, is in good condition and ensures constant deliveries of gas, director Jerzy Koziej of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation told us. Contrary to reports in our press, there has been no strike by gas and oil workers directly involved in production in Western Siberia; only auxiliary services are on strike, Jerzy Koziej said.

Seized Radioactive Material Tested

LD2611000193 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Lublin, Nov. 25—Police on Thursday said that the 2.5 kilogrammes of radioactive material found in a village outside Lublin on Tuesday is of little market value.

Andrzej Przemyski, spokesman for Lublin provincial police headquarters, said that the tests made by the main laboratory for radiation protection, showed that the seized radioactive material "is a metallic, low enriched uranium, a mixture of U-235 and U-238 isotopes."

"Such material can be sold for some 40 dollars per kilo in the West, while sums mentioned during talks between the smugglers and potential buyers reached billions of zlotys (hundreds of thousands of dollars), said Przemyski adding that most probably smugglers hoped to sell the material as top quality uranium to an unaware customer. [no closing quotation mark as received]

He added that police thinks that the amount of uranium which had been smuggled into Poland from one of the

former Soviet republics through this connection could be considerably bigger as smugglers visited the village many times.

Jadowski Named To Head Government Press Office

LD2711133493 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1151 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 27 Nov—The Government Press Office has announced on 27 November that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak appointed Dariusz Jadowski to the post of general director in the Council of Ministers' Office and head of the Government Press Office. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter Adopts Postulates

LD2711214693 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—The general meeting of delegates of the Mazowsze chapter of Solidarity trade union adopted on Saturday nearly 30 postulates for negotiations with the government. The postulates will be submitted to the Solidarity National Committee.

The so-called political postulates speak of vetting, decommunization, establishment of the state treasury and the Ministry of Economy. Twenty-one economic postulates concern, among other things, lifting the excessive-wage tax, raising old-age and disability pensions and lowering taxes.

Official Comments on SLD-PSL Coalition

LD2911114093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Aleksander Luczak, deputy premier and national education minister, said the Waldemar Pawlak government was not going to stop the process of state decentralization. It opts, however, for a slower pace of the process.

In an interview for Radio Zet today, Luczak expressed hope that the coalition of reason of the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] had a chance to survive for four years.

Economic Statistics, 'Manipulation' Examined

AU2411155493 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 19 Nov 93
p 12

[Tudorel Andrei and Stelian Stancu article: "The Chimera of Zero Increase"]

[Text] Dynamic, diverse, and complex, the economic phenomenon lends itself—to a certain extent—to interpretations and cosmetic changes, usually through manipulation of statistics and political speeches. The latter represent the most common and subtle form of deliberately distorting facts, regarding the psychological aspect of the social conduct of the individual. Most people usually register facts not only through their own direct perception, but also via the propagandistic information made available about one phenomenon or another, in our case economic. Thus, we should not be surprised that it has become common practice for the current government, more precisely for those in power, periodically to present to the nation an optimistic image of the Romanian economy along with justifications for certain aspects in the economy on the basis of arguments, which, usually, exclude the responsibility of the government. The frailty of these explanations is demonstrated by our economic reality, which is characterized by a constant decrease in the indicators of the situation of the Romanian economy. It is a situation that, as I have said, can be measured by means of statistics, whose exactness, or lack of it, might be motivated objectively or, on the contrary, subjectively. Along this line, let us recall, for instance, the well-known statistics of Ceausescu's regime, which placed Romania's economy on levels to be envied by the most dynamic economies in the capitalist world, had they believed them. That said, let us return to the official statistics that define the current state of Romania's economy. We are talking about the first nine months of the current year.

Industry: Reality Contradicts Statistics

Statistics released by the National Statistics Commission anticipate a slight recovery of industrial production. This assertion corresponds to facts only if we compare them with the achievements of the previous month. One should not forget that the output in August and July, for instance, with which comparison is made, was much below the average level of any of the months in 1992. Thus, it is much more correct to affirm that from 1 January-30 September 1993 industrial output was 1.8 percent lower than during the same period last year.

We can further note that producers continue to have alarmingly high stockpiles of finished products, that is, 65.5 percent, compared with output achieved in September. The following issue is raised: the economic units in question continue to manufacture products that are not required by the market; this means that we are not adjusting to the laws of the market economy, or do these stockpiles, for various reasons, exist only on paper? Regardless of the answer, this situation is unbearable for an economy on the brink of collapse that is trying very

hard, at least theoretically, to adjust to the laws and requirements of the market. This paradox is accentuated by the fact that the list of product stocks includes items that are needed by the national economy and the population such as, for instance, tractors, furniture, fabrics, footwear, and so forth. There was an increase of 6.8 percent in productivity in the same period and scheduled work time was utilized at the rate of 84.6 percent over the first nine months of the year (while during the same period last year it was 83.5 percent). It seems that the situation is favorable. If, however, we bear in mind the high unemployment rate and the constant decline in the cost of the labor force, with Romania having the least expensive labor force in Europe at this time, we will, actually, note that we cannot talk of an increase in labor productivity.

Domestic Trade: The Population is Buying Less and Less

The decline in purchasing power is due to the lack of correlation between the growth index of prices for consumer goods and nominal wages. The devaluation of the leu does nothing but weaken even more purchasing power of our people, who are on the threshold of poverty.

Sale of retail commodities:

	1 Jan-30 Sep 93 (billion lei)	Change compared with 1 Jan-30 Sep 1992 (%)
Total	2,620	74
—foodstuffs	1,160.6	75.6
—nonfoodstuffs	1,459.4	72.9
—trade services rendered to the population	786.5	70.5

In September, as in fact in the subsequent months, consumer prices increased steadily, with foodstuffs increasing most, all while we are told that there has been significant progress in agriculture. What is the truth? The truth is surely the reality that surrounds us: the rapid and irrational price increases, both for foodstuffs and non-foodstuffs, and public services. The truth is the constant decrease in real wages and the devaluation of the leu not from one month to the next, but from one day to the next.

One could also note an increase in prices in the food markets in September this year compared with the same period last year. Thus, prices were 167.8 percent higher and if we bear in mind that during the same period the consumer price index amounted to 390.6 percent, we will note that the markets adjust their prices to those in the economy. This seems inexplicable if we bear in mind the "achievements" in agriculture; official statistics for some agricultural produce indicate a much higher increase than average, namely in the case of corn—391.7 percent; tomatoes—383.4 percent; and flour—349.3 percent. We also have to emphasize that in the first months

of this year, the monthly average inflation rate increased from 9.6 percent, which it was in 1992, to 12 percent, thus placing us next to the countries with the highest inflation rate in the world.

The National Currency: On the Brink of Collapse

Given the decline of the economic performance indicators and of the competitiveness of Romanian produce, the leu is constantly depreciating compared with the American currency. In the past month alone, the leu depreciated more than 10 percent and, as is likely, there are chances the rate will reach 1,500 lei to the dollar.

Since the beginning of the year, the leu exchange rate has depreciated by 601 lei compared with the dollar, a decrease of 130 percent; the most spectacular decrease was recorded in June when the depreciation index totaled 11.6 percent.

Consequently, we can say that the quoted statistics and figures contradict the conclusions the government is trying to convey through official statistics, according to which the decline of the Romanian economy has been halted and we are experiencing, as it were, a stage of "zero economic growth," that is we are on the point of relaunching our national economy. Unfortunately, our situation is different; the much awaited and desired recovery cannot take place except within the framework and as a direct result of the economic reform process in the direction of a genuine market economy. For the current government this reform process remains a principle that is still far removed from practice.

The People's Incomes: A Lot of Money But To No Avail

While these statistics show that a 4 percent increase has been achieved in industry compared with the previous month along with an increase in the productivity of scheduled labor, the same statistics show that, in turn, average incomes also increased.

Net nominal wages according to main activities:

	September (lei)	Increases compared with September 1992 (%)
Total	74,723	320.6
—industry	77,117	327.2
—constructions	79,162	292
—agriculture	61,183	327.1
—transportation	84,130	267.1
—education	57,522	313.9
—health	67,452	287.6

If the average increase in wages was 220.6 percent, the increase in prices was clearly higher; in September 1993, they increased 390.6 percent compared with the same month in 1992. Thus the price increase was 30 percent more rapid than the wage increase. This development is difficult to endure, particularly by employees who are

paid from the state budget, whose wages are much below those earned on average in the economy. For instance, the average salary in education represent merely 76.9 percent of an average salary in the economy.

PNTCD Leader Indicates Readiness To Govern

AU2611191693 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 22 Nov 93
p 3

[Interview with Ion Diaconescu, vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, PNTCD, by Loara Stefanescu; place and date not given: "PNTCD Is Ready To Govern"]

[Text] Recently, the parties from the democratic opposition have declared themselves ready to "do their duty for the country." That would amount to changing the current cabinet. Mr. Ion Diaconescu, PNTCD vice president and signatory to the declaration of the opposition parties, told us the following:

[Diaconescu] We are meeting and consulting one another on a daily basis, regardless of whether important events are taking place. Our recent declaration has more of a principled value—it is a kind of manifesto—since it does not bring up anything really new. It is a reminder of our, the opposition's, position toward the difficult economic and social situation with which we are all now being faced. Since we are currently going through a harsh period because of the spectacular increases in prices and the dramatic decrease in living standards, we again expressed our readiness to contribute to solving these problems. With the hardships of the moment probably also on his mind, President Ion Iliescu decided to set up this Consultative Economic Council, which does not look to us like a suitable solution. What that council purports to do is actually the government's duty. If radical measures are required, then this government should be changed and a new cabinet should assume the responsibility of solving the difficult problems faced by the country.

Regarding the actions of the Control Corps, I believe that this is a matter for the justice bodies, not for ourselves, since we did not then participate in the sharing of power, just as we do not now. The joint declaration does not contain our position on this subject, which is another matter altogether.

[Stefanescu] Can one interpret your present gesture as indicative of your readiness to participate in the government at this point?

[Diaconescu] The PNTCD is always ready to assume its share of responsibility, provided that we are given not only the responsibility but also the power to be ourselves and take the appropriate measures. The only problem is that we do not want our participation in the government to be merely formal.

[Stefanescu] Is there a concrete "understanding" among the opposition on a possible new government formula?

[Diaconescu] Not more than is specified in that declaration. We did not discuss any details, but the initiative must belong to the president. It seems that, in the period which has elapsed since last autumn's talks, the majority grouping has slightly changed its mind on the issue of a government of national unity.

[Stefanescu] Can one interpret the declaration, which uses a rather imperative tone, as foreshadowing a possible censure motion in Parliament?

[Diaconescu] So far we have not considered it; it is not in our program. However, it is quite probable that we will make use of this right before the end of this parliamentary session. It would be a pity not to do that.

Trade Union Bloc Calls For Cabinet Change

AU2811202993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The National Trade Union Bloc [BNS] sent us a communique by fax that points out that, following the decision of the BNS National Council to withdraw its trust in the government headed by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, the BNS Executive Bureau—over the week of 22-27 November—conducted a round of talks with the democratic political parties represented in Parliament to sound out their viewpoints on a solution to the profound crisis into which the country was thrown by the incompetence of the majority of the ministers making up the current cabinet, including the prime minister himself. The BNS Executive Bureau members held talks with the leaderships of the Democratic Party [PD(FSN)], the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR], the Liberal Party-1993 [PL-'93], the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], and the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR].

The communique emphasizes that the BNS believes that the only solution for overcoming the ever-deepening state of crisis is the achievement of social peace, firmly directed toward rapidly implementing the economic, social, and political reform, on the basis of an economic and social pact negotiated and concluded by the trade union movement with credible and viable partners, which will thus turn into firm guarantors of its observation. The communique adds that, since the proposed solution is both social and political at the same time, it also presupposes a change in the balance of power of the majority parliamentary coalition, so that a new government—which may be a coalition government or an open cabinet—may also enjoy the necessary parliamentary support.

At the end of the first round of talks, the BNS Executive Bureau noted that the trade union confederation's viewpoint is broadly shared by the political leaders of the parliamentary opposition and also by the PDSR and

PUNR leaders, who, nevertheless, expressed strong reservations about cooperating with members of the opposition parties, motivated mainly by a distrust in the moral aptitude and competence of the latter. The BNS cannot accept the position of the PDSR and PUNR leaders, considering that the national interests are above party interests. Moreover, nothing from the talks held with the opposition parties thus far supports such an assertion. Consequently, the BNS Executive Bureau calls on the trade union movement, all the democratic political forces, and all the country's people to support the solution suggested by the BNS and join in the actions organized tomorrow in Bucharest and 13 other large cities.

Iliescu Calls on Leaders To Attend 1 Dec Events

AU2611134493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Opening his news conference at Cotroceni Palace today, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, presidency spokesman, read the appeal addressed by Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, to all leaders of parties represented in parliament. We will now present the full text of this appeal:

In an effort to contribute to the consolidation of our national unity and to rallying our country's efforts for the benefit of the public, two months ago I initiated consultations among all parties represented in parliament with a view to coordinating actions linked to the jubilee of the 75th anniversary of the Great Union.

It was explicitly our intention to turn the celebration of our national day into an opportunity for consensus and reconciliation among the main political forces for the purpose of better managing public affairs in which these forces are involved in various ways. At that time, I achieved an encouraging unity of ideas and intentions among all those present, who represented the entire parliamentary spectrum.

Meantime, new elements have emerged, which have lead certain parties to renounce their declared intention to participate in this act of reconciliation and to take the hand stretched out to them. I regret this development, which is hard to believe, no matter what the explanation. I believe that even now it is not too late for these parties—considering the great interests of our nation—to return to our initial consensus and to participate in the program jointly established so as not to jeopardize the great holiday of the Romanians because of discord.

As I have said before, I continue to be open to dialogue with all political forces. Our country's people are unjustly suffering privations and dissatisfactions and could be helped to overcome them through more sincere coordination among the political forces in parliament. The people are aware and judge the position of each one, and condemn obstructionism, shortsighted politics, and avoidance of responsibility.

This is why I am appealing to the leaders of all parliamentary parties not to reject the opportunity we have to contribute—in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution—to coordinated, coherent, and sincere efforts in order to overcome the crisis of trust that is threatening our society.

I am not thinking of a formal presence in Alba Iulia, but a sign of sincere and open cooperation, without any secrets, among those who enjoy the electorate's trust, the appeal by Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, addressed to the leaders of all parties represented in parliament and presented by Ambassador Traian Chebeleu at today's news conference at Cotroceni Palace reads in conclusion.

Invites Moldovan Leaders To Ceremony

AU2711173293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554
GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/11/1993—President Ion Iliescu of Romania has invited the leadership of the Republic of Moldova to attend the festivities occasioned by the celebration in Alba Iulia of the National Day of Romania on 1 December, the spokesman for the president of Romania, Traian Chebeleu, informed the press at the weekly news briefing of Friday, 6 November.

Invitations have been issued to Moldova's President Mircea Snegur, Parliament Speaker Petru Lucinschi, and Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli.

Iliescu, Melescanu Receive Qatari Minister

AU2711164793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1320
GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/11/1993—President Ion Iliescu of Romania received at Cotroceni, on November 6, Shaykh Abdallah Bin-Khalifah al-Thani, minister of the interior of the State of Qatar, on an official visit in Bucharest, as guest of his Romanian counterpart Lieutenant General George Ioan Danescu.

The Qatar guest conveyed to Romania's president a written message from Amir Khalifah Bin-Hamad al-Thani of the State of Qatar.

The Qatar official told the press at the close of the interview that the relations between the two countries developed fast these last two years and hoped his Romanian visit would help developing the ties between the two interior ministries.

State Minister Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, also received Shaykh Abdallah Bin Khalifah al-Thani, minister of the interior of the state of Qatar, now on a visit to Romania.

They analysed the progress marked in the bilateral relations, assessing that a better mutual acquaintance was however necessary in order to further develop those relations. Special stress was laid on the opportunities of economic cooperation between the two countries' businessmen, in such sectors as natural gas, infrastructure, medical assistance, petrochemistry, fertilizer production, tourism. A direct air link will be opened soon in this last domain.

In the presence of the Romanian minister of the interior they also discussed matters of cooperation in combating drug traffic networks, in the exchange of information on organized crime included.

Geneva Peace Talks Previewed; Officials Comment

Government Delegation Named

AU2611195893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency held a session today that was attended by representatives of the parliamentary parties. President Alija Izetbegovic chaired the session.

The members of the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were selected for the upcoming negotiations in Geneva. They are President Alija Izetbegovic of the Presidency; Presidency members Ivo Komsic and Mirko Pejanovic; Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic; Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; and academician Muhamed Filipovic, deputy in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

The conclusions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly regarding the peace process are to serve as the basis for the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation to exert maximum efforts to obtain the best results possible out of the peace process.

As for the humanitarian aspect of the negotiations, Bosnia-Herzegovina will reject the association of humanitarian issues with political demands. The aim of this approach is to obtain the most effective aid and its distribution to places where it is most needed.

This is said in the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Izetbegovic Holds News Conference

LD2811175293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Report on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo on 28 November by correspondent Cenada Cimurovic—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Cimurovic] At the beginning of the news conference on tomorrow's negotiations in Geneva—attended by a large number of reporters—Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic said that our state delegation was going to Geneva to learn how the international community perceived this new agreement and to voice our views and our demands, which are mainly of a humanitarian nature.

[Izetbegovic] "As far as we are concerned, we believe that humanitarian issues take priority. In this context, we are going to insist on protection for convoys and, if need be, on using force to protect them."

[Cimurovic] Izetbegovic drew attention to the latest incidents, indicating that there would be no other way to

help convoys reach their destinations—something that threatens 1.5 million citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Izetbegovic] "This is why we believe that every means should be justifiably deployed to help convoys, food and medicines, reach those who need them. The least justifiable option is to leave the delivery of food and medicines dependent on the aggressor's goodwill in the future. I want to stress at the same time that we believe that the gravest situation at the moment is in the Mostar, Maglaj, and Tesanj areas."

[Cimurovic] Since the political aspect will also be discussed tomorrow, Izetbegovic presented the position of our state delegation, which will comply with the last decision of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

[Izetbegovic] "As you know, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly conditionally accepted the Geneva agreement. The condition was that the occupied territories be returned and that will be our starting point at the talks."

[Cimurovic] The position of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation is also that the Serb and Croat aggressor should meet our demands, which Izetbegovic explained as follows:

[Izetbegovic] "If the Serb side is not willing to return the territory, we think that not only should the sanctions not be lifted, but they should be stepped up. I would like to emphasize that when we speak about sanctions against Serbia, we demand—apart from the conditions regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina—that the legitimate rights of our minority in Sandzak, the Bosnian [Muslim] minority in Sandzak, be respected. As you know, our minority's human and civil rights in Sandzak are being violated. We will not cease to insist on the respect of human and civil rights in this area.

"As for the Croatian side, we demand territorial access to the sea, and we ask for the end to Croatia's political and military interference in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The latest reports speak of large numbers of Croatian Army soldiers being sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina. If Croatia is not ready, if it creates obstacles to our access to the sea at Neum, and if it does not stop with interfering, we will demand at this conference that economic sanctions be imposed against Croatia."

[Cimurovic] Izetbegovic stressed two more points related to the negotiations tomorrow.

[Izetbegovic] "We will demand that the clause on demilitarization be withdrawn from the text of the document. We will not accept demilitarization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The general military and political situation in the Balkans does not allow such a measure."

[Cimurovic] We could only accept demilitarization of Bosnia-Herzegovina if Serbia and Croatia are demilitarized. As for the other point, Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] "We think that guarantees for the implementation of the reached agreement must be a constituent part of the peace package. We will consider that guarantees are provided if NATO forces are included in the forces that guarantee the implementation of the agreement. We will, of course, reiterate our demand and our appeal that the United States take part."

[Cimurovic] We emphasize two answers to reporter's questions, relating to the returning of 3 or 4 percent of the territory and the position of Sarajevo as an open city. Izetbegovic's reply to the first question was:

[Izetbegovic] "I have never mentioned any percentage. It was others who did that. The definition was: areas with majority Bosnian, Bosniak population. This is why we stick to the definition that all areas that had majority Bosniak [Muslim] populations according to the population census of 1990 and 1991 should be placed under the control of the Bosnian authorities."

[Cimurovic] Speaking about Sarajevo as an open city, Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] "I can say at this moment that the issue of Sarajevo is a very complex one. Many maps related to this issue have been drafted. We still support the concept whereby Sarajevo should be under UN control in the first two years."

[Cimurovic] Speaking about Srebrenica, Izetbegovic said that they should demand that this territory be expanded in order to gain access to the Drina River and that any territorial exchange was out of the question.

Karadzic Stresses 'Flexibility'

AU2611174693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Telephone interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in Pale by an unidentified correspondent in Belgrade—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good evening.

[Karadzic] Good evening.

[Correspondent] We have been talking about the upcoming Geneva summit on Monday. We have been told that the government of the republic of Srpska held a session today, which you just ended. First, however, let me ask you: Has the hot line between Pale and Sarajevo started operating?

[Karadzic] Well, I do not have any information on that, although I did hear that something was being done about it.

[Correspondent] So, if it does become operational, maybe that would be a positive sign for the Geneva meeting on Monday?

[Karadzic] It would be good if we could exchange views, although we have been in touch with [Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris] Silajdzic, in direct contact at the airport. However, we left these contacts none the wiser.

[Correspondent] Mr. Karadzic, we assume that one of the burning issues in Geneva on Monday will be the issue of humanitarian aid and, as seen from here, that a positive solution could be found for that if, under the circumstances—the war, the early winter—one can put it that way at all.

[Karadzic] I am sure that we can solve that, but I am not sure that the essence of these talks will be humanitarian aid. The 12 ministers would not meet over that, since just last week we signed an agreement, or rather a declaration, on the passage of humanitarian convoys. I must say that there are certain obstacles to the passage of convoys set by the UNHCR—that is, by those who lead the convoys—in order to put the Serbs in a thoroughly negative position at the outset of the talks on Monday. Once again, I will issue the strictest of orders tonight to the headquarters of our army to observe the letter on the orders allowing the convoys through, even if there are some small irregularities. However, I am sure that the entire international community, including the humanitarian institutions, are in on these situations so as to put the Serb side in an inferior negotiating position.

[Correspondent] It seems that the key problem in Geneva will be the issue of possible Serbian territorial concessions, which is what the Muslims continue to insist on. They have the strong support for this by the foreign factor, particularly the European Union. There are also those who hold the views among your ranks that this issue could be the one to bury any hope for a favorable result of the Geneva meeting on Monday.

[Karadzic] We have the impression that the entire Geneva meeting has been prepared as a large stage on which nothing will happen, except that there will be attempts at passing the responsibility for the continuation of the war on the Serb side, even though the responsibility lies with the Muslims ever since they rejected the Owen-Stoltenberg plan. This is an unprepared meeting, with great stars in attendance—the 12 ministers. This meeting has not been prepared sufficiently, and they did not give us enough time to hold bilateral talks with the Muslims and the Croats and reach some preliminary successes.

I believe that they will set extremely great demands. We will, first of all, be accused in connection with the humanitarian convoys, whereas the humanitarian convoys pass safely only through our territory. Then they will demand the 3-4 percent of the territory, which we most certainly cannot give them; that is beyond any question. We have even withdrawn the earlier concessions we made under the understanding that the Muslims would accept immediately and that there would be

no more rejecting. They will then try to present the Serb side as rigid and put down the continuation of the war as the fault of the Serbs.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned some 3-4 percent of territorial concessions. We spoke not long ago to our colleague Dusan Miklja in Brussels, and he told us that this was no longer directly mentioned. But there is another question related to that, and that is a conditional and gradual suspension of the sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. In case Geneva fails, there are hints at not only keeping the sanctions in force but even tightening them as a means of further pressure and, we would add, weakening and strangling the Serbian people.

[Karadzic] One of the intentions of the EC, or rather the German bloc in the EC, is certainly to create tensions between the Serbs in the republic of Srpska and the Serbs in Serbia. This is also planned perfidiously just before the elections in Serbia. The point is—and this is clear to everyone—that we want a stable Serbia and a stable assembly in Serbia, as well as a strong and stable president who would indeed be supported by all the forces in Serbia in the finale of the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. However, for these very reasons, the meeting was timed in order to create tensions in the relations between the brothers on both sides of the Drina River. This is certainly a very perfidious game, and if we fall for it, then we only have ourselves to blame.

There are, however, some reasons as to why some European countries are truly interested in the lifting of the sanctions. It is not only our neighbors that are suffering from the sanctions; the German economy is also suffering. There are times that we think the sanctions are just about to fall, that there is an awareness that the sanctions have to go, not because they are unjust, but because they are affecting their interests. They must go. We think that Germany wants to score for the Muslims in the 89th minute [allusion to the last minute of a soccer match], as we say here, since it knows that after this year, there will no longer be any justification for the sanctions. They will be not be able to stay after Greece takes over the [EC] chair and the neighboring countries start exerting pressure.

[Correspondent] You mentioned the Muslims. What is your opinion on the statement by cochairman David Owen on an independent Muslim state in this part of the Balkans?

[Karadzic] A Kuwaiti newspaper erroneously interpreted my statement that we are opposed to a Muslim state. We said that we will not allow Islamic domination over the Serbian and Croatian—that is, Christian—majority in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We have nothing against such a Muslim state being independent. On the contrary, we also think that a union is not a lasting and stable solution. Our interests lie in uniting with other Serbs, and I believe that we will easily reach an agreement on the independence of the Muslims.

The problem lies in the fact that the Muslims are setting numerous unjustified reasons. They hardly own something over 20 percent of the territory, where they live as the majority, and yet they hardly hold some 10 percent of the territory. This will be the first time in history that an army, the Serbian Army, is withdrawing from such a large territory, as the Montenegrin Army unfortunately did from Skadar, even though it had great casualties. [sentence as heard]

We must think at the national level, and not just the level of our own village or republic. We must consider the entire Serbian nation. We will probably restore some concessions in some other form, but we cannot cripple our republic and give away Serbian territories. This is out of the question. Therefore, we will exercise maximum flexibility as long as this does not encroach on the most essential interests of the Serbian people here and does not endanger the survival of the Serbian state here.

We will try, however, to secure a port for the Muslims on the Sava River. We will try to support their demands concerning the sea. Of course, our demands concerning the sea are still valid and will not give them up.

[Correspondent] Mr. Karadzic, on behalf of the listeners of "An Argument More" program, we wish you and the other participants in the Geneva meeting on Monday success. Thank you.

[Karadzic] Thank you.

Karadzic Accuses Germany of 'Genocide'

*LD2811011293 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 27 Nov 93*

[Text] The Bosnian Serb delegation in Geneva will demand the immediate lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [Bosnian Serb President] Radovan Karadzic has announced a tough stance at the Monday talks while simultaneously expressing doubts over the outcome of the Geneva meeting. Karadzic's doubts have this time been fueled by fears of the Germans who, as every Serb knows, are the most genocidal nation in the world.

[Begin Karadzic recording] The Serbs can expect no good from a performance directed by Germany, or an association led by Germany. I believe this will just turn out into another stage performance in which they will attempt to brand us as the culprits for the continuation of the war. Since August until today, the Muslims have been responsible for the continuation of the war and Germany is now trying to twist things around, and this will just give them another pretext for smearing the Serbs and for levelling accusations against the Serbs. I, personally, am not in the mood to listen to all that. I think we will warn them most explicitly to stop all that, because Germany is obviously the ringleader. As a matter of good taste, Germany should withdraw because this is the third time in this century that Germany is at the forefront of genocide against the Serbs. I personally

believe there will be conflicts in this respect because we are not inclined towards witnessing a smearing campaign against our own people.

I believe that the sanctions are untenable, and that the entire world has become aware that even Germany has realized that they are untenable politically, morally and economically, for our neighbors and even Germany itself. That is why Germany wishes to gain something for the Muslims and the Croats in the 89th minute—in soccer parlance—and to do something to the detriment of the Serbs at the last moment.

I believe that the war is nearing its end—the Muslims cannot endure pressure from two sides—we are not behaving offensively, if we were to behave offensively, the Muslim state would cease to exist and Bosnia would be divided between the Serbs and the Croats—which is not in our interest because a large number of Muslims would remain with us and we would again have ethnic strife. The war is slowing down, the sanctions are losing their edge—either there will be a fair political agreement that suits the Serbs as the side that certainly did not lose this war, or there will be an acknowledgment of the status quo—which also suits the Serbs. [end recording]

Srpska Vice President Cited

LD2811194293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—If Europe wants peace, it is the last moment for it to put pressure on the Bosnian Muslims, because their side has been behaving like a blackmailer so far, vice-president of the republic of Srpska (RS) Nikolja Koljevic said on Sunday, on the eve of the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina scheduled to open in Geneva on Monday.

Koljevic said on Radio Kragujevac (industrial town in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia) that, if something is being asked of them, the Bosnian Serbs must clearly be told what they are being offered.

Koljevic said that, when territorial changes were discussed, it was necessary clearly to distinguish between what pertained to Herceg-Bosna (the state of Bosnian Croats) and what to the RS (the state of Bosnian Serbs). He said it appeared that the Bosnian Serb side would find that out only in Geneva.

Koljevic said he was puzzled by the speed at which the Geneva meeting had been convened. The Serb side, although it had asked that the talks be put off for a week, has, nevertheless, agreed to be in Geneva on Monday so that it would not seem that it does not wish to negotiate on peace, Koljevic said.

HVO Commander: 'Waste of Time'

AU2611162093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Major General Vlado Santic, deputy commander of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] for the Bihac

region, stated in the Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST that the diplomatic activities on solving Croatian-Muslim clashes in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are only a waste of time.

It has been demonstrated in this war that, despite signing various documents, Izetbegovic, as soon as he walks away from the negotiators, denies that he had ever signed anything, Santic said, adding that the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is in fact a war aimed at conquering the largest possible chunks of territory on which Izetbegovic wants to create an Islamic state.

Abdic: Izetbegovic Cannot Represent W. Bosnia

LD2811215993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, has sent a letter to the cochairmen of the peace conference reminding them that they have already been informed about the establishment of the province and the elected bodies of government.

Declarations on a permanent peace have been signed with the president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and, as Abdic says, with the president of the Serb Republic. According to him, however, Alija Izetbegovic and his armed extremists have been attempting to crush with military means all these results, particularly the complete peace that we had managed to restore. Because of the bloodshed that has been caused, Abdic says in conclusion, the government and the presidency of the autonomous province of western Bosnia have adopted a decision that Alija Izetbegovic can no longer represent the population of this autonomous region at any international negotiations.

Russia's Churkin Comments on Possible Peace Deal

LD2611145593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 26 Nov 93

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Everyone must be fully aware that no suspension or lifting of sanctions should be expected without peace or prior to peace in Bosnia. A peace agreement must be signed first, Vitaliy Churkin, "Russia's man" for the Yugoslav crisis, says. In an exclusive interview to Djuro Bilbija, the Moscow correspondent for "VEECERNJE NOVOSTI," the deputy head of Russia's diplomatic service stresses that in the run-up to the next Geneva round, it must be made totally clear in political as well as practical terms that with no peace agreement any talks about lifting sanctions will be abstract and theoretical."

In this spirit, Vitaliy Churkin points out in the interview that the key message he is going to convey to the participants in the negotiations is: "You must reach

agreement; you must do whatever is necessary to reach peace in Bosnia; you must make it possible for sanctions against Yugoslavia to be lifted. "Only then, he says, will the possibility follow of "concentrating energetically on resolving the remaining problems of the former Yugoslavia."

Explaining his statement about a "more flexible approach" on the part of the European Union [EU] regarding the Yugoslav crisis, the high-ranking official of Russia's diplomacy notes that on earlier occasions, "no one except Russia wanted to even talk about lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia...whereas now the UE has already started talking in realistic terms about how the sanctions are going to be lifted—following the signing of a peace agreement."

"In this I see a serious advance in the approach of the international community to the problem of sanctions," Churkin said.

He also points out, as another positive element, the fact that "many, including the EU and others, have now agreed with what Russia has been saying for some time: That the peace negotiations in Bosnia should come to an end first, that by no means must peace negotiations on Bosnia be held hostage by the ideas and concepts of a global solution."

Asked about Russia's attitude to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's recent statement that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not take part in "a global conference" unless sanctions are lifted first, the deputy head of Russia's diplomacy said that this "is one of those questions which should not be disputed for the time being." For, he adds, "if things in Geneva start moving in the direction suggested by the EU, something we have been talking about for a long time (first, a specific peace and then 'global solutions' to everything else), then this will mean that we will have a peace agreement on Bosnia, that the process of its implementation will start relatively soon, and that the lifting of sanctions will follow. Only in the wake of all of this will a London-2, or London-3, follow, or to be more precise, something that will perhaps be called London-2—London-3 is expected to take place."

"This is why there is no reason yet to hold a debate on who and under what conditions will take part in any meeting. This is simply not a topical issue now since no one can overnight convene a London-2, and even more so a London-3," Churkin stresses in his extensive interview published in tomorrow's four-day edition of 'VEČERNJE NOVOSTI.'

Izetbegovic Responds to Butrus-Ghali Letter

AU2611210193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The second item of information that we have just received speaks of the response by President Izetbegovic to Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

I do not doubt that the international community and the cochairmen of the Geneva conference have made the maximum effort to achieve peace, but these efforts have obviously been unsuccessful. Part of their failure lies in the fact that some of the basic premises for the negotiations have been erroneous. The point is that the conflict in Bosnia is not a conflict between three sides, as you said in your letter. It is an issue of an open and brutal aggression on an (?independent) country and member of the United Nations. This is said in the letter from President Izetbegovic to Butrus-Ghali [words indistinct].

Alija Izetbegovic [words indistinct] and the same international community gave them legitimacy by declaring them sides to the conflict. Izetbegovic believes that it is not possible to conduct a peace process on such premises.

From your letter, one could further deduce that further humanitarian aid from the international community is dependent on the creation of conditions for the resumption of the conference on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe that such an approach is not acceptable, as humanitarian aid cannot be conditioned by factors of a political nature. Only a just peace can have a future. I would like to convince you that we are committed to just such a peace. It can only be reached if the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the London conference are observed.

This is said in the letter sent by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Presidency Promotes Delic to Army General

AU2611210493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] We have just received news that at today's session the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency decided to promote Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, to the rank of army general.

Krajisnik 'Pleased' With Owen's Statement

LD2611155793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Pale, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the republic of Srpska, said today that the Bosnian Serbs did not oppose a Muslim republic in Bosnia. Commenting for TANJUG on Lord Owen's statement yesterday, Krajisnik said that he was pleased that the cochairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia "understands the reality of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where three states must exist for all three peoples."

"This is the end of a dream of the undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina desired by the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo," Krajisnik said, and added that the Serbs would support the separation of the three national communities.

Krajisnik added that this is yet another piece of evidence that the Serbs had no intention to defeat the Muslims.

"We want to draw borders so that every people has its own state—that is, a state it deserves in accordance with its principle of self-determination. Whether the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the republic of Srpska will join Croatia and Serbia, respectively, is of lesser importance. Everything that is being done now is aimed at enabling a people—that has only just become a people—to have a state, which we do not oppose in the least," Krajisnik said in conclusion.

Presidency Member Protests Shelling of Sarajevo

LD2811223093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] At 1245 today, as the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation was leaving for the Geneva negotiations, Sarajevo was shelled from the positions of the Serb aggressor and six people were killed and around 10 injured, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic says in a letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council and to the chairman of the European Union [EU] Council of Ministers.

We are aware that both NATO and the United States have said that they will react in case of a major attack on Sarajevo, but we cannot understand why Western civilization is not reacting to the shells which constantly claim human lives, including those of children, destroying not military targets but schools, hospitals, and residential buildings. The cold-blooded murder of six people in Sarajevo today is a message to the EU ministers before the Geneva negotiations that the terrorists are unwilling to accept the ongoing peace process. Due to lack of action, the United Nations shares the responsibility for this massacre as well as for the previous ones. The United Nations has abandoned the principles on which it was founded, Ejup Ganic says in his letter.

UN Aid Workers Jailed by Abdic Forces in Bihac

AU2711163093 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 27 (AFP)—Four UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) staff were jailed for 30 days Saturday after being arrested in the Moslem enclave of Bihac in north west Bosnia, UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said.

The four, all truck drivers, were arrested Friday by police loyal to local strongman Fikret Abdic and jailed in his stronghold town of Velika Kladusa. The drivers were well, but UNHCR staff had demanded their release, Kessler said.

Kessler said the reason for their jailing had not been given, but said he thought the move stemmed from Abdic's decision, several days ago, to ban humanitarian convoys from crossing his territory. [passage omitted]

'At Least 300' Killed in Inter-Muslim Clashes

LD2611213993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 26 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, Nov 26 (TANJUG)— At least 300 people were killed and another 300 reported missing in inter-Muslim clashes in Cazin Krajina, sources in the northwestern Bosnian enclave said on Friday. Fighting between forces of radical Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and supporters of the newly-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia (APWB) Fikret Abdic continued unabated, especially near the village of Todorovo, the same sources said.

Radio Velkaton in Velika Kladusa, the APWB centre, said that Abdic had declared a general mobilization, saying that an APWB army would be formed on December 1. Izetbegovic is also mobilizing his reserve troops in the region, in a bid to push back APWB forces from the separation line, the radio added.

According to local Serb sources in Bihac, a town controlled by Izetbegovic's troops, Muslim extremists arrested a number of Muslims who were helping the remaining Serbs in the town.

UNHCR: Serbs 'Deliberately Obstructing' Convoys

AU2611161793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] UNHCR representative Peter Kessler said today that the Bosnian Serbs were deliberately obstructing the free passage of convoys. The convoy passing through Stolac was checked twice without any reason, while permission for the passage of the convoy from Zvornik to Srebrenica was still awaited. Apart from winter clothes, this convoy contains the material for 350 houses sent by the Swedish Government.

The convoy that was supposed to reach Gorazde from Belgrade via Uzice and Zvornik has also been halted. The Bosnian Serbs also detained a 10-truck convoy en route from Banja Luka to Zenica. All these examples of obstruction to the normal course of humanitarian aid are in drastic violation of the signed Geneva agreement, Peter Kessler said.

Tudjman Comments on Prospects for Geneva Meeting*LD2811170893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 93*

[Text] President Tudjman has said that it appears that a number of sensible people from all the warring sides have understood that it is high time to reach a peace agreement. We have always followed this course, in the search for a political solution, but today both Europe and the United States are calling on us to abandon the military option, Tudjman said.

From the beginning we wanted to solve the issue of UN-protected areas in a peaceful manner and at the same time to find a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prior to Geneva we can hope that we are closer than ever to a favorable solution. This does not mean that the first meeting in Geneva will be fruitful but it is important that we have succeeded in linking the problems of our occupied areas with the resolution of the Bosnian issues. Certain important international factors have been in favor of lifting the sanctions against Serbia because the Serbs would give certain territorial concessions to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, earlier at the UN Security Council session and now according to Juppe-Kinkel, at our intervention resolution 871 was included along with resolution 847 mentioned by German and French ministers [sentence as heard]. According to this resolution sanctions will remain in place until the problem of protected areas in Croatia is solved.

RSK President Explains 'Modus Vivendi' Principle*LD2711184893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 27 Nov 93*

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—President of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic said on Saturday [27 November] that the formula 'modus vivendi for Krajina' regions—which will be discussed in Geneva at the forthcoming meeting for resolving the Yugoslav crisis—means an end to the war with Croatia, and not some status within this former Yugoslav republic.

'Modus vivendi for us Serbs in Krajina means that a ceasefire agreement is signed and that the war is ended, and certainly not that which perhaps Croatia and Germany want, a certain status (of the RSK) within Croatia. This is absolutely out of the question,' Hadzic said in an interview to Belgrade's Radio Politika.

The agenda of the meeting in Geneva on Monday will include an end to the 19-month-long civil war between Serbs, Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the suspension of the sanctions imposed by the international community against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia over 18 months ago because of its alleged involvement in this civil war.

The Geneva meeting was initiated by foreign ministers of the European Union (E.U.), who agreed to propose to the F.R.Y. the gradual suspension of the sanctions if Bosnian Serbs give new territorial concessions to the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and if a 'modus vivendi' is found for the RSK. However, the sanctions against Yugoslavia were not imposed because of the conflict between the RSK and Croatia, but because of Yugoslavia's so-called involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in 1991 in parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where they are the majority population. The Serb people refused to accept the forcible secession of the Zagreb regime from the former Yugoslav federation and to be proclaimed a national minority in the new state.

'Our objective,' Hadzic told Radio Politika, 'is the unity of the Serb state within the frameworks of all our current Serb states which are not together with parent Serbia.'

Hadzic expects that this will be realized already during the first year after the elections. 'Whoever is elected will have the honour and obligation to head a state in the year when we are to unite with Serbia,' Hadzic told Radio Politika.

President Hadzic is one of the candidates at the forthcoming presidential elections set for December 12 in the RSK. Multiparty elections for the Krajina parliament will also be held on the same date.

Delegation Meets With UNPROFOR Officials*LD2611221693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Text] How to effect a cease-fire in Sector South in accordance with President Tudjman's peace initiative and the international community's endeavours—this was the subject of discussion at today's meeting between UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] officials in charge of Sector South and the Croatian delegation for cooperation with the peacekeeping forces. Toni Pajkin filed this report from Zadar:

[Pajkin] Elaborating on the difficulties encountered in the establishment of a cease-fire, Colonel Ering underlined that he cannot find competent collocutors on the Serbian side because everybody claims they are not authorized to conclude an agreement. Nevertheless, Ering said, UNPROFOR will do everything it can to achieve a cessation of hostilities in these parts. He based his optimism on the assertion that there has been less fighting here since 31 October.

The Croatian side wants peace and the Croatian army abides by agreements and appreciates the blue helmets' efforts, said Brigadier Djanko [Croatian army], but when the civilian population and civilian targets are in question, we are compelled to identify Serbian positions and neutralize their fire.

UNPROFOR's officials said they had no explanation for the [Serbian] attacks on Biograd, Pakostane, and Tkon on 24 November, and added that, when responding to Serbian fire, the Croatian Army did not fire on civilian objects but exclusively military targets.

Instead of replying to reporters' questions about whether Croats are still being persecuted in the occupied regions and how many Croats are still languishing in Knin prisons, UNPROFOR's officials described the operating techniques of relevant UN agencies and the difficulties they are coping with.

Martic Favors Union With 'Other Serb States'

AU2911120093 Paris AFP in English 1124 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 29 (AFP)—Serb separatists from the breakaway Krajina region in Croatia are in favor of joining other "Serb states", Milan Martić, the interior minister of the self-styled Serb republic of Krajina (RSK) declared in press reports here Monday [29 November].

Martić, considered the leading candidate in presidential elections being held in the RSK December 12, also dismissed any chance of Krajina becoming an autonomous region within Croatia.

"I will undertake a more aggressive diplomatic struggle to obtain recognition of the RSK," Martić pledged, according to local media report that portray him as a "legendary hero" of the August 1991 Serb revolt in Krajina.

Martić, running as an independent candidate in the presidential poll, also vowed that as president of the RSK he would work to establish economic union between Serbia, Krajina and the self-declared Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said the separatists in Krajina were not considering ceding any territory under their control. "We are determined to keep our state," he said.

Four other candidates are running in the December 12 poll.

Serbian Party Suggests 'Confederal' Autonomy

LD2511003593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2214 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—The Serb National Party, an opposition party in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which is regarded as a satellite of the Zagreb regime, has suggested a "confederal" autonomy for Serbs in the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.).

Explaining the idea at a press conference, the party's president and vice-president Milan Djukić and Veselin Pejanović said that the plan contained elements of a confederation, but without giving the R.S.K. the option of secession from Croatia.

The R.S.K. has been proclaimed by the local Serbs in those parts within the arbitrary borders of Croatia where they are the majority population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia and a severe curtailing of their national and civil rights.

The R.S.K. was placed under U.N. protection in the spring of 1992, which has, however, failed to deter Croatia from launching three offensives against the territory since, in bids to force its rule there.

Croatia is refusing to recognise the R.S.K. and demands sovereignty over the territory, whereas R.S.K. authorities insist that the Serbs, who have the same right to self-determination as the other nations in former Yugoslavia, have held a referendum at which they voted for a separate state, and refuse to discuss the matter further.

The Serb National Party officials said that a "perpetuation of the state of war" was directly contrary to the interests of both the Serbs and the Croats, and that it was necessary to reach a "historic compromise" through the option of "peace without an alternative."

"To launch an all-out war or local war operations at this moment in history would be disastrous for the Republic of Croatia," they said.

Under the party's plan, the Serbs should delegate their representatives to the Croatian parliament, where they should proportionate representation, as in all other state and local bodies of power.

The proposal specifies that this should extend also to proportionate representation of the Serbs in the Croatian government and ministries, especially the Foreign, Interior, Defence and Justice Ministries, and explains that the Serbs are at present not nearly proportionately represented in any government institution, despite legal guarantees to the contrary.

Croatian Army Launches Attack on Southern RSK

LD2711211093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2038 GMT 27 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—Croatian troops on Saturday [27 November] renewed artillery attacks on the south of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), a United Nations Protected Area, the Krajina news agency ISKRA said.

Quoting sources from the headquarters of the Krajina army, ISKRA said that the wider region of the Serb village of Kasic was attacked with more than 30 mortars, and the region of Smiljic with shells from multiple rocket launchers.

No-one was killed in the attacks, but there was much damage to civilian objects.

Official Discusses Aid for Refugees*AU2711210393 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 93 p 5*

[HINA report on a news conference held by Dr. Adalbert Rebic, head of the Government Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons, in Zagreb on 17 November: "Can Convoys Pass Through Slovenia?"]

[Text] At the beginning of the news conference on Wednesday [24 November], Dr. Adalbert Rebic reminded everyone of the fall of the heroic town of Vukovar two years ago, paying honor to all the people of Vukovar who "gave their lives for the free, democratic, and sovereign Republic of Croatia."

There are 26,560 registered Vukovar refugees in Croatia, while some are staying with relatives or friends, or they left to third countries, said Rebic. He added that the Vukovar refugees are "the most organized group of refugees accommodated in Croatia."

According to the latest data, there are 527,974 refugees and displaced persons in Croatia, said Dr. Rebic. Due to the fact that acquiring the necessary documentation takes a long time, and that the neighboring countries have closed their borders to the refugees, they stay in Croatia longer, and not so many are able to be accommodated in third countries.

The difficult economic situation creates difficulties in accommodating refugees and displaced persons, said Dr. Rebic, and the families that have taken in refugees have not been refunded for August, September, and October, due to the shortage of Croatian dinars. Apart from the debt to the families, the Government Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons has also not paid the September and October fees to hotels and other organizations that have accommodated refugees and displaced persons, remarked Rebic, adding that the Office is doing everything to acquire the funds within the next five or six days. "We therefore kindly ask all the refugees and displaced persons to be patient, because we are doing our best," said Rebic.

He also said that the refugees from Vares are at present accommodated in Kiseljak, and that Croatia is prepared to take some of them as soon as they manage to arrive to the free part of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. He added that, if they do not manage to leave Kiseljak, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees will be asked to send convoys with humanitarian aid to Kiseljak.

Dr. Rebic also mentioned the problem of humanitarian convoys passing through Slovenia, which arose because a deposit of 50 percent of the amount a convoy is worth is requested. If this practice continues, the transporters of humanitarian aid will no longer be able to afford to bring it to Croatia, which will directly affect the refugees. Rebic said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been

asked to solve the problem, and added that he wondered "if the issue was the obstruction of the free passage of the convoys."

Answering the question on the complaints of the refugees accommodated at the Solaris Hotel in Sibenik, Rebic said that it was a matter of "general complaints and anonymous letters," and that he was planning to visit the Solaris soon.

Zadar Prefect Curbs European Observers' Activities*LD2611185093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Text] Sime Prtenjaca, the prefect of Zadar-Knin county, who is also the Croatian Government's civilian affairs coordinator for Sector South, has declared that he will no longer permit the European observer team to operate in Zadar as it had so far and that its activities would henceforth be closely monitored by the Croatian Government. The prefect said this in a talk with [Croatian news agency] HINA's correspondent following today's [26 November] meeting with the head of the European observer team for Sector South based in Knin, Paul [last name indistinct].

Prtenjaca stressed that the reason for such a decision was the European observer team's ineffectiveness and doubts about the honorability of its intentions.

Istrian Leader Calls For Referendum*AU2611202693 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 93 pp 22-23*

[Interview with Ivan Jakovcic, leader of the Istrian Democratic Congress, by Ratko Peter; place and date not given: "We Want a Referendum on Istria"]

[Excerpts] Over the last few days the newspapers have again been writing much about the Istrian Democratic Congress. Unfortunately, it has become a rule that any political problem connected with Istria, no matter how insignificant it might be, immediately develops into a media and political scandal, because no effort is made to calm passions or to find a rational solution. This time the media's focus of attention was on Mr. Ivan Jakovcic, the top man in Istria, who, accompanied by his party friend Mr. Axel Luttenberger, discussed the Istrian issue with members of Lord Owen's staff during his recent visit to Geneva. The two of them caused a lot of dilemmas about the aim of their visit to Geneva and about the contents of the talks with the people close to the British lord. Apart from that, a very topical issue seems to be a referendum on Istria, which was one of the reasons for this interview.

[Jakovcic] We talked in Geneva with the people in charge of the national minorities issues, and I do not think that the official Croatian leadership knew nothing about it. We have nothing to hide. We want to help Croatian policymakers to use the favorable impressions

that we made in Geneva. The topics that we discussed have already been known by the Croatian people for a very long time. Nobody went to Geneva in order to inform on Croatia to the world, or to tell unpleasant stories; we went there with the aim of presenting the solutions that we are offering to the Italian and other minorities that live in Istria, as well as our ideas on the future of our region. The talks were informative; we informed the gentlemen on the political attitudes of our party, but there were no negotiations. They have had no contacts with Istria so far, so they wanted to know why it is being attacked so much. The international conference on the former Yugoslavia wants to learn as much as possible about all minorities, and, since we hold a very important and compact part of Croatia in the political sense of the word, it was important for them to learn how Istria is succeeding in keeping peace and leading a successful policy of harmony among our ethnic groups. In Geneva we presented our generally known political attitudes and I think this served as a promotion for Croatia, as can also be seen from the positive reactions of the colleagues with whom we talked. There was nothing sensational about these talks. I acted there as the Istrian Democratic Congress chairman, and Mr. Luttenberger as the vice-chairman of the party, who is at the same time in charge of the party's international relations. He did not act there as the mayor of Opatija, which position he also holds.

[Peter] You mention minority problems. In this context you pay special attention to the Italian minority, trying to justify this with its autochthonous position. What does this mean concretely? Is the Italian minority in this way getting a privileged position in Istria compared with all other non-Croats in Istria? There was a similar problem in Rijeka recently.

[Jakovcic] Fortunately, no ethnic group in Istria is endangered. It is true that one of the basic principles of our policy is to protect the autochthonous Italian minority in Istria. This is not discrimination against the other minorities, however. Although we are practically a neo-liberal party, the Istrian problems, which include the Italian minority, are among our main considerations. We have decided to grant more rights to this minority, because it would not be good to rely on what the Italians had during the communist era. The Italian minority enriches Istria. I am deeply convinced that all the people in Istria have equal opportunities for development. From this point of view I would like to reject all speculations about the allegedly inferior position of the Albanians in Istria, on which issue DANAS has already reported, although these accusations were rejected by the Albanians themselves. As far as the Rijeka case is concerned, I would like to say that it is a pity that this problem was not solved in the way that such problems are solved in Istria.

[Peter] You said that you presented the main political attitudes of your party in Geneva. They certainly include the issue of "regionalism." What do you mean by this term?

[Jakovcic] It is well known that we support an autonomous Istrian county and a special status for the border area in the future. This is already European practice, and it will be a normal thing for Croatia, too, as soon as it becomes a member of the Council of Europe. The Croatian image in the world is extremely bad, and it is a serious question as to how Croatia can improve this picture of itself. I think that the policy of the Istrian Democratic Congress is one possibility that Croatia has to improve its reputation. It has to be admitted that the present partition of Croatia into counties is a failure. This is not Croatia. This was done in order to govern the country from one center. We would like to have counties as they have always existed, but they have not been re-established according to their historical borders because this would have diminished the influence of the ruling party and the capital. The creativity of others is automatically excluded. I do not want to say Zagreb, since there is no conflict between Zagreb and Istria, as some people want to prove; the only conflict that exists is that between Istria and the central power, which is situated in Zagreb.

[Peter] It can very often be heard that the cooperation between regions ("transregionalism") is moving Istria away from Croatia. You have already received serious warnings from the Croatian leadership because of this tendency.

[Jakovcic] We consider Istria a region, but we respect the constitutional solutions, so that we call it a county, although its territory should encompass also the islands of Cres and Losinj, as well as the communes of Opatija, Matulji, Lovran, and Moscenicka Draga, that is to say the areas whose inhabitants would like to live in Istria. The transregionalism in Istria includes the Slovenian part of Istria and the Italian town of Muggia. There are approximately 50 "transregions" in Europe, and all of them have already proven to be very efficient and useful in many respects. I am convinced that this will be a good solution for Istria and its development. I hope that the Croatian policymakers will soon realize this. The latest example is the town of Nova Gorica in Slovenia and Gorizia on the Italian side of the border. The ambitions of the Slovenian politicians are to make this town function as one town with one infrastructure. Nobody has the intention, however, of annexing Gorizia to Slovenia, or Nova Gorica to Italy. Among other things, the Istrian "transregion" would at the same time solve the catastrophic problem of the border crossings with Slovenia.

I read in Mr. Tudjman's book recently about his attitudes toward regionalism in Western Europe. If these attitudes are applied to Istria, we shall be very happy. I have enough indications that regional solutions will soon be accepted by the main Croatian opposition parties. [passage omitted]

[Peter] There are rumors that a referendum on Istria is being considered.

[Jakovcic] Yes, we want a referendum because we do not want to impose anything on our people. It would be decent of the Croatian leadership to allow us to hold a referendum in Istria. Its aim would be to see whether the Istrian people want the things proposed by their politicians. Let the Istrian citizens decide what kind of Istria within Croatia they want. We want to ask the people what they want, and we do not want to impose anything! Whether or not there will be a referendum depends on a series of elements, on the development of the local situation and on global solutions. We know that the Istrian people want this referendum. Therefore it would be wise to find a consensus and organize it as soon as possible. In my opinion the question asked in the referendum could be as follows: "Do you want Istria to have the status of an autonomous county within a unitary and indivisible Croatia?"

[Peter] How can one resist the feeling that aspirations for secession from Croatia are hidden behind the notion of regionalism?

[Jakovcic] These are not aspirations for secession. It is a struggle for our region, but at the same time also a struggle for Croatia. We do not want to split Croatia! If we have the status of an autonomy, this means that we are developing Istria, but also all the other regions.

[Peter] Is it true that you, that is to say your political activities, are financed from Italy?

[Jakovcic] Italy is investing in Croatia, it is one of the main investors, and we hope that statements such as this will not interrupt their investment. I keep repeating that Italy has helped Croatia very much, but Croatia does not want to admit it. Italy is a democratic country, but there are fascists and neo-fascists there, just as there are fascists groups in all of the democratic Western European countries, and there are such groups also in Serbia and Croatia. The fact that some people see Istria, Rijeka, and Dalmatia as Italian, or that others see Virovitica, Karlovac, and Karlobag as Serbian, equals the view of those people who see Zemun as Croatian and want to put the Croatian flag on the Mt. Romanija. The only thing they want is territory!

[Peter] Are there people in Istria who see Istria as Italian?

[Jakovcic] I do not know who these people would be. I do not want to say that there are no individuals in Istria who think in this way, but I am sure that the Istrian Democratic Congress has no such members.

Federal

Government Asks UN To Free Financial Assets

LD2411230293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1956
GMT 24 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, November 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government requested that the U.N. sanctions committee undertake all measures within its power to free Yugoslavia's financial assets and lift suspension imposed on its transactions in order to enable it to settle its financial obligations to the international organizations.

Noting that the international organizations, such as the U.N., I.A.E.A. [International Atomic Energy Agency], FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] and the C.S.C.E., were requesting payment of various contributions, the Yugoslav Government in a letter to the chairman of the U.N. sanctions committee Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, said it was unable to do this and recalled that all F.R. Yugoslavia's financial assets abroad have been frozen and its financial transactions with other countries suspended by the U.N. Resolution 820.

The Resolution 820 tightened for the second time the U.N. Security Council sanctions imposed in late May last year. The Security Council introduced the sanctions over Yugoslavia's alleged aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina although in this former Yugoslav republic there were no Yugoslav army members, but the three constituent peoples—the Moslems, Serbs and Croats—clashed.

Nonetheless, the Yugoslav Government said, Yugoslavia continued maintaining that its financial obligations were a debt of honor and that their settlement was a matter of national dignity.

Minister on Flight of Serbs From Croatia

LD2811173893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716
GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, November 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities Margit Savovic said on Sunday that 50-60 people of Serb nationality daily flee into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) from Croatia, which is indicative of the position of Serbs in that breakaway Yugoslav republic.

Speaking in a broadcast by Radio Kragujevac, a town in central Serbia, she said that reports of the F.R.Y. to the world community on the violation of human rights of Serbs in Croatia were now being given more serious consideration than before.

'Earlier, Serbs and Serbia had been automatically accused, but now, the international community is

becoming increasingly aware that human rights, especially of Serbs, are indeed being grossly violated in Croatia,' she said.

The latest report by United Nations (U.N.) Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said that more than 250,000 Serbs have been banished from Croatia since the beginning of the war with local Serbs in 1991, while the Serb side has a figure of 300,000.

Serbs proclaimed the republic of Serb Krajina, their own state, in 1991 in parts of Croatia where they were the majority population. Many Serbs remained outside the territory of this republic, however, and their rights are now violated by the Zagreb regime.

Savovic observed that the latest reports by Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch announced last week in Vienna, which said that human rights were being grossly violated in the F.R.Y., were in fact interference in the internal affairs of the F.R.Y. and its republic of Serbia.

Savovic said that the reports described murders of 15 ethnic Albanians from the southern Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija during 1992, but that they did not give the names of the victims or the killers, which she said clearly indicated their true intent.

Murders of Serbian policemen, drug smuggling and arms smuggling in Kosovo were not mentioned in these reports, Savovic said, and those who were arrested and charged with these crimes are described as the 'oppressed.'

'These reports also mention, but without any proof or names, the banishment of 300,000 Albanians from Kosovo,' Savovic said, underscoring that the F.R.Y. had not banished anyone.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians has been underway in Kosovo for decades. The leaders of this movement urge the secession of this integral part of Serbia and its annexation to Albania.

ICRC Chief Expresses Concern About Sanctions

AU281.175193 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT
28 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Geneva, Nov 28 (AFP)—The head of the International Committee of the Red Cross expressed concern Sunday about the international embargo on the rump Yugoslavia, warning it is hurting the most vulnerable.

ICRC president Cornelio Somaruga, who has just returned from a nine-day visit to former Yugoslavia said that an ICRC president "would never call for economic sanctions as they always affect the weakest members of society."

He said sanctions against Belgrade were causing bureaucratic complications, hindering the delivery of medicines and basic foods and making life difficult for people. [passage omitted]

In related comments, Somaruga said the three Bosnian factions were all violating international rights laws to different degrees. He accused Bosnian Serbs of carrying out ethnic cleansing in the northwestern Banja Luka area. He presented "confidential reports" on these deeds to each of the three parties, including the Moslem-led Bosnian government.

He said he hoped participants in talks scheduled to resume here Monday would understand the need to adopt a human approach to the civilian population who were "paying the price for irresponsible political and military ambitions." [passage omitted]

The ICRC has called on all sides to stop their attacks on civilians and to allow refugees to return to their homes. It has also demanded that prisoners should not be used as human shields, or as goods to be exchanged in bartering. Nor should they be put to work in dangerous areas.

Somaruga added that the ICRC would never hand over information or witness accounts to any war crimes tribunal, because of its position of neutrality and its insistence on confidentiality. [passage omitted]

Controls on Gas Distribution Accepted

LD2411220593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has again informed the U.N. Sanctions Committee that it will accept any form of control of both the delivery and distribution of gas from Russia, Yugoslav Foreign Trade Minister Milorad Unkovic told TANJUG on Wednesday [24 November].

He said the F.R.Y. had earlier informed the Sanctions Committee that it had no reserves of natural gas because of the lack of storage capacities.

Last Friday, the committee again postponed its decision whether to allow the delivery of Russian gas for humanitarian needs, asking Belgrade to submit data about the domestic production and reserves of gas. It also requested Yugoslavia's consent to a supervision of the distribution of gas which is to guarantee that all quantities delivered will be used for humanitarian purposes.

Yugoslavia's monthly needs in the winter reach 132,400,000 cubic metres.

Without the gas, which Russia is ready to deliver for the heating of houses, schools and hospitals, Yugoslavia would face a true disaster during the upcoming winter.

The U.N. imposed stringent sanctions on the F.R.Y. in May last year, because of its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbia

Seselj Calls For Single Serbian State

AU2811210693 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Serbian Radical Party campaign spot]

[Text] [Seselj] During the last three years the Serbian people have waged a majestic battle for freedom and for the salvation of their western lands. In this battle the Serbs have come out as victors and the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] is particularly proud of its contribution to this battle of liberation. The SRS's main political goal is the creation of a single Serbian state that will encompass all Serbian lands. For that reason we are active today in the area of the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina.

Elections are drawing to a close in the republic of Serb Krajina and the SRS has put forth its candidate for president of the republic. This is Rade Leskovac. The SRS has also put forth its candidates for deputy seats in all constituencies. We believe that the best way to create a single Serbian state is unification in two phases; first, the unification of the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina into a single state that would be called Western Serbia, which we proposed a year ago.

Subsequently, this state would then join the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in a couple of years, and if we were to secure the recognition of Yugoslavia's international and legal continuity, the Serbian Radicals would launch an initiative to have Yugoslavia's name changed to Serbia or the Republic of Serbia, whichever is decided upon by the federal assembly.

This single Serbian state would have a republican form of government; it would be parliamentary and democratic with a multiparty system. We Serbian Radicals are against a federal organization of the state, and we believe that there is no reason for our state to be organized into a federation. We believe that the state, after the unification of all Serbian lands, should adopt unitarian characteristics, that is, to have a single assembly, a single government, one president of the republic, one army, one police, and one state administration. All this would save a lot, and it would prevent on time a possible attempt at separation by some of the Serbian lands in some new, graver political circumstances which could arise in the future.

Today, the main goal of the entire Serbian people—when the armed struggle for the liberation of western Serbian lands is almost over, and when the Serbian people have

liberated almost all of their territories in this struggle—is the struggle for economic prosperity and social justice.

Kostunica Urges Gradual Merger of All Serbs

AU2811215193 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Address by Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democratic Party of Serbia, at campaign rally in Velika Plana; date not given—recorded]

[Text] In the midst of the grave circumstances, misfortunes, and outside pressures to which we are exposed, we are at a turning point and are again creating our national state. This is what we have to keep in mind. This state will be created gradually, it will probably be created from the outlines of those countries that today comprise Serbia, Yugoslavia, the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, and from other ethnic areas of ours: the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina. This process will be lengthy, it will last a long time, but for us there is simply no way out, no solution, no stability if we do not create a Serbian state, not some Yugoslavia, reconstructed, restored, in which we will be the minority people, just as we were in these last two Yugoslavias; we simply need one single national state, surrounded by other national states, that will be a Serbian state, a democratic state, in which every ethnic minority will have the same rights in accordance with international standards, applied worldwide.

This is very important. We have to discard these false assumptions. Atanasije Jevtic, a great, honorable Serbian bishop, said in an interview that has remained etched in memory: Every Yugoslavia should be thrown into the muddy Marica River. We reiterate this. And finally, I greet you once again, and I invite you to vote for the DSS in these elections; vote for the voice of hope, because there is hope. In addition to this existent hope, I will quote the words of one of our great forefathers, a man whose name is actually a synonym of what the Democratic Party used to be; let me quote the words of Ljubomir Davidovic who said on one occasion that the people have never lost a case, the people have never lost a case. This is hope, so vote for it at the elections on 19 December. [applause]

Radicals, Socialists Compete in Election Campaign

LD2611153893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1342 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 26 (TANJUG)—The election campaign in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is being waged between the Radicals (the biggest opposition party) and the ruling Socialists, with surveys indicating that Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj has lost as much as a half of his supporters.

The two parties' conflict has made it necessary to call early parliamentary elections for December 19, after the

Socialist Party's minority government in October faced a vote of no confidence at the radicals' motion and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic exercised his constitutional prerogative and dissolved parliament.

The medium public opinion polling centre, as quoted by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, projects that the Socialists will retain their support at the coming election, whereas the Radicals cannot count on nearly one-half of the supporters they had at last December's elections.

The majority of the Serbians who are abandoning their former champions are undecided and likely to abstain from the vote. [passage indistinct] of the electorate (62.2 percent) have remained faithful to the parties they supported last year.

The Radicals, according to the medium survey, have lost as much as 49.1 percent of their support, with one-fifth becoming undecided, and 12.3 percent transferring allegiance to the Socialist Party. It should be noted here that the survey was made after the flaring up of the conflict between the Socialists and the Radicals and a fierce media demonisation of the Radicals.

The survey indicates that the structure of the electoral body has not changed much—the poorest sections of society and the rural populations are still faithful to the Socialists, who are again expected to be the single party with the largest number of seats in parliament, having been abandoned by the least number of voters, just as the year before.

The projection is based on the fact that the opposition is not contesting the election as a united bloc.

An invitation by Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the second biggest opposition party—the Serbian Renewal Movement—to the opposition to close ranks against the Socialists, has not drawn a response from the Democratic party and the Democratic Party of Serbia, so that the Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] opposition coalition has remained only with Draskovic's movement and a handful of lesser parties.

Last week, the leaders of six major opposition parties, including the Radical Party, signed a pact pledging to refrain from mutual recriminations and to join forces to control the regularity of the election.

A part of [word indistinct] supporters believe that only a united list could win a majority in the 250-seat parliament for the opposition. A commentator of the Belgrade independent daily BORBA regards the very signing of the pact as a step forward, but it is still uncertain if the opposition, even after this recent reconciliation, would be able to form a coalition government.

The deadline for nominations expires on December 4, and the possibility is not being ruled out of the opposition taking further steps to increase its chances of winning a majority in parliament. An invitation to the opposition to unite has been issued also by Yugoslavia's former Prime Minister Milan Panic. Panic's unexpected

arrival in Belgrade was dismissed by Socialist Party spokesman Ivica Dacic at a Tuesday press briefing with a curt assertion that "we are not afraid of any political opponent, not even panic."

Panic, a Serbian-born U.S. businessman, was Milosevic's bitterest rival at last year's elections.

Milan Panic's Impact on Elections Viewed

AU2411210193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 93 p 5

[Report by M.G. and M.K.: "Confusion and Silent Hopes"]

[Text] Belgrade—The arrival in Belgrade of Milan Panic, former prime minister and a presidential candidate at the elections last December, has been commented upon differently by different parties in Serbia. The general impression, however, is that the opposition does not want to say anything about the former premier's return in advance, at least not until the real reasons for his return to Belgrade and his possible role in the election race become clear.

According to BORBA's blitz poll, a section of the opposition is in any case relying on Panic's support. This section of the opposition holds the view that 1.3 million of Panic's supporters is not a number to be ignored in the election race.

Dragan Todorovic of the Serbian Radical Party: The arrival of Milan Panic will change absolutely nothing on the political scene. He is a dark star that extinguished itself a long time ago. At the last elections, Panic only caused damage—a fake savior from the West drove people crazy with his contradictory behavior. Panic represents a "hot chestnut" for the opposition.

Milorad Jovanovic of DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia]: We are not quite clear what Panic's intentions are. It is still a question whether he will run in the elections this year, if it is not already too late, considering that the lists of candidates have already been submitted. We hope that he will support us. I mean I hope that he will not tie himself to (support) special groups. This would certainly suit us. His 1,300,000 votes are in any case not to be ignored.

Dragor Hiber of the Citizens' Alliance: It is a well-known fact that Mr. Panic managed to gather together the opposition last December. Unfortunately, this year, because of the opposition's stands and because of his own commitments he has not played this role. In any case, his support to DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] and the united opposition is important. Regarding his active participation, nothing has been decided on yet. Cooperation would be appreciated.

Ivan Kovacevic of the Serbian Renewal Movement: In his letter, Milan Panic clearly supports Depos and we think that this will remain to be so. Depos is open to

everyone, including Mr. Panic. It is difficult to say at present whether he will be able to help at the next elections. If we could predict the course of events, we would probably behave differently.

Borislav Kuzmanovic of the Democratic Party: The arrival of Milan Panic in Belgrade will not change anything, at least as regards the Democratic Party. We already have a well developed program which does not include Mr. Panic. His general support will help us, too, but I think that he will play a lesser role this year than last December.

Ivica Dacic of the Socialist Party of Serbia: Panic's arrival is not an event of political significance, because his political fate is to a great extent determined by the results of the last elections. We are not afraid of any political opponent, including this gentleman.

Germany, U.S. Blamed for Failure of Talks

AU2811182893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Stefan Grubac commentary]

[Text] The peace negotiations on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have let us down so many times already that very few people dare to publicly express great optimism prior to the Geneva talks scheduled for Monday. The only thing we can do is to ask the rhetorical question: Might things possibly move forward precisely because nothing spectacular is expected? As far as the Serbian side is concerned, one thing can be stated with certainty: Never, at any negotiations to date, has the Serbian side even remotely experienced a similar atmosphere to that it will have this time.

The Serbian side was always surrounded and pressured by a fabricated, imposed, nonexistent blame, both at the negotiating table and in the media. Now this atmosphere has been greatly, if not completely changed; the Serbian people are not satanized, and the blame is more and more evenly distributed with each passing day, so that—despite the fatal delay—the true and main guilty parties are ever more clearly and frequently named. The former negotiators and witnesses to the events—[former Italian Foreign Minister] Gianni De Michelis and [former Conference on Yugoslavia Chairman] Lord Carrington—are these days openly claiming that Germany is to be blamed for the war in Bosnia because it forced its recognition. Lord Owen's latest remarks blend logically into these statements made by De Michelis and Lord Carrington. This carries more weight since Lord Owen is the current and main protagonist in the peace negotiations.

Lord Owen has drawn up his reports and sent them off to the world media. He has mentioned the Croatian genocide from World War II as a significant background of both the Serbian-Croatian, and the Serbian-Croatian-Muslim conflict in Bosnia. Limits must be set on the sanctions, and it will become increasingly hard to

justify them, said Lord Owen, and directly blamed the United States for the failure of the last Geneva conference.

However, now it is clear—although we will be able to see this clearly only after this round of Geneva negotiations—that the side that has so far stalled the peace process to the greatest extent—the Muslim side headed by Izetbegovic—this time does not have the support it had at the last Geneva negotiations. This has been made clear to the Muslim side in the period between the last Geneva talks and this one. True, Europe has made it more clear than the United States. And while Lord Carrington openly says that Germany is mostly to blame for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina—which is much more than just a political statement, it is clearing British policy of historical responsibility—it is quite natural that today we perceive as pitiful those of our politicians who blamed official Serbia for the war, slandering in this way the entire Serbian people with these grave falsehoods.

These politicians seem just as pitiful today. Not only because they have caused their people political harm, but because they still wish to impose themselves on these people. However, these people have defended their homes despite everything, and are now rebuilding and linking them. If we accept as fact the undeniable significance of television in the contemporary world and politics, as part of the flow of civilization and a new, established fact of civilization, then the linking of the Serbian states' television systems—accomplished recently—is very significant for integration.

By following and adapting to democratic currents, the people in the republic of Serb Krajina, in a pre-electoral atmosphere, are probably greatly encouraged by [Krajina interior minister] Milan Martić running for president. He has always been a symbol of resistance, defense, and perseverance of the Serbian people in the Krajina, and a man who has proven on numerous occasions that his people's interests always come before his own. Of course, the elections will show what the people think of this. One more thing. Regardless of the future course of events, it seems that the worst has passed for the Serbian people. It is difficult to imagine that the circumstances in which these people were cruelly attacked, divided, and satanized could ever be repeated. Perseverance, courage, truth, and time have seen to that.

Macedonia

Nis Factories Paying Salaries in Kind

AU2611101293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Most of Nis companies and factories paid October personal incomes to their employees to the amount of 100 German marks. However, this did not comprise salaries paid out in dinars but salaries paid out in kind.

Nitex textile industry, Electricity and Machine Industry, Tobacco Factory, Colored Metals' Industry, and others provided potatoes, beans, onions, wheat, sugar, and other staple foods as well necessary winter clothes and shoes, medication, and similar to their employees.

In this way the value of goods in kind greatly exceeds the minimum salary established jointly by the trade unions, the government, and the economic chamber.

High salaries paid out in kind are not subject to taxation by which the obligations toward the state are being avoided. The trade unions emphasize that such payment in kind should not be given to everybody as not all workers are equally endangered. As an example, they put forward that some workers come to collect their salary in kind with Mercedes cars while others cannot even transport it with public transport.

Gligorov Receives South Europe NATO Commander

AU2611192093 Skopje MIC in English 26 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "NATO Commander for South Europe in Macedonia"]

[Text] Macedonia's President Kiro Gligorov received yesterday the NATO commander for south Europe and commander of the U.S. troops in NATO Admiral Borda, who came for a short visit to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces in the Republic of Macedonia.

The discussion was also attended by the Macedonian Defense Minister Vlado Popovski and the UNPROFOR commander General Tomsen.

During the talks, they expressed satisfaction over the cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and the UNPROFOR and viewed the possibilities for further advancement of this cooperation.

Trade Deficit With Austria, Inflation Outlined

AU2411180493 Skopje MIC in English 23 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Economic Info"]

[Text] Increased Trade With Austria: According to Austrian statistics, Macedonia has imported Austrian goods valued at 262 million shillings, which compared to the same period last year, presents a 1,377 percent increase.

On the other hand, Macedonia has exported goods to Austria in the value of 82 million shillings, which is a 5,619 percent increase.

According to these statistics, Macedonia has a trade deficit of 180 million shillings, and the Macedonian exports cover barely 30 percent of the exports.

Inflation Rates: According to the latest statistics of the Republic's Bureau of Statistics, as a result of a series of price hikes, the living costs in October recorded a 13.9 percent increase.

From the aspect of groups of products and services which comprise the personal consumption, the biggest increase has been noted in the field of heating and lighting 37.4 percent, clothing and shoes 14.8 percent, food 12.3 percent, and culture and leisure 16.6 percent.

Losses and Consequences: In 1992/93 the physical scope of the agricultural production is expected to be reduced 20 percent. The losses are estimated at 4,586.6 million denars (824.8 from the cold, 3,761.8 from the drought). The solidarity funds totaling some 40 million denars cover only 0.87 percent of the losses.

Following the first quarter of 1993, the total expenditure was 11.4 percent greater than the revenue, the losses are 98 percent greater than the realized income. On 1 October 1993, in terms of premium and bonus, the state owed the agriculture 134.2 million denars, and together with the premiums for the sunflower and sugar beet 160.2 million denars.

Montenegro

Foreign Minister Favors EU Peace Initiative

LD2611210093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1704 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Podgorica, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The diplomatic initiative of the European Union is of crucial importance and obviously opens new prospects, while its alternative is the blocking of the peace process, which means the continuation of suffering and new casualties, Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic said for tomorrow's [27 November] issue of the daily POBJEDA.

Apart from attempting to define acceptable territorial borders between the three sides in Bosnia and preserving a modus vivendi in Krajina until a global, legal solution is found, the initiative also envisages continuation of the peace process that would, according to Lekic, through new conferences (London two and three) lead to a definite solution.

Apart from these elements, a difficult socioeconomic situation in Montenegro and Serbia is for the first time explicitly acknowledged, and support is thus given to the idea that aid is sent to the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro. The suspension and lifting of sanctions—depending on positive results from the peace process—is also discussed, the Montenegrin foreign minister says.

For the responsible and the brave, that is for those who are fighting for peace, this is an opportunity to make their constructive contribution to finding a solution for peace, Lekic said. He added that those who represent maximalist aspirations, who politicize their rights and ambitions to the extent that they negate the rights of others, should shoulder greater responsibility for the possible failure of the initiative and the continued suffering of the innocent population.

Commentary: U.S. Considers Bosnia 'Dead Topic'

AU2811161393 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 93 p 34

[Milka Tadic commentary: "The Dead Topic"]

[Text] This past month seems to haringer something that local Balkanologists have long feared—Bosnia, and along with it the former Yugoslavia as well, are becoming dead topics in the United States. Newspaper articles about it are ever fewer and shorter and sometimes days would pass without it being even mentioned on CNN, which only a few months ago would "turn out" three to four "stories" from our territories. Even the Serbian elections, something that was thoroughly covered last year, no longer feature particularly prominently in the media. It seems that nobody expects [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic's political death and there is also no longer an attractive "challenger," as [former Federal Prime Minister] Milan Panic was last December. True, some space was won by the conflict between Milosevic and [Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav] Seselj and their mutual accusations of war crimes.

Silence on Bosnia

The Clinton Administration has recently been occupied by the defense of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the first major foreign political step made by Clinton to directly concern the United States and its future. The polemics on whether the agreement with Mexico and Canada will benefit the United States or not are not ceasing and the President and his associates are busy trying to convince the public about a "job well done." The other two topics preoccupying the local diplomats are Somalia and Haiti. By the way, Washington does mention Bosnia on occasions. The silence was somewhat interrupted last week when, due to the latest [Bosnian Serb leader Radovan] Karadzic offensive on Sarajevo, Clinton said that the air-raid option is still being considered. Of course, the people in Pale do not pay any attention to this, it seems that warnings only provoke them to "respond fiercely."

The European proposal on "globalization" has not been particularly discussed here and the initiative by France and England [as published] to reward Milosevic for Karadzic's territorial concessions to Muslims in Bosnia by alleviating the sanctions, has met with Washington's resistance without any particular explanation. However, it is certain that such a move would only strengthen Milosevic's regime. The Serbian president would present the alleviation of the sanctions as another one of his "great" successes. That would probably not be difficult, because who still remembers that the sanctions had in fact been imposed above all because of him?

That ex-Yugoslavia is slowly becoming a dead topic is confirmed by the fact that the CIA's prediction that it is a possibility that the lives of 1 million of people could be threatened this winter failed to incite a fierce campaign to try to save and rescue human lives. Last year, the

evaluations that 100,000 people in Bosnia could die from cold stirred spirits. Fortunately, that did not happen as the winter was mild. Predictions for this year are frightening. As many as 4.2 million people are directly threatened: 2.7 million are in Bosnia, and the rest are refugees from this state now in the completely economically broken former republics of Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. This winter is going to be much more difficult than the previous one, not only because of the harsh weather conditions announced, but also because, last year, in Sarajevo for instance, almost everything that could be burnt was used up for heating: trees in parks, parquet in houses, books....

Getting Used

Clinton has reacted to the CIA's evaluations. First, he has his doubts about peace at this moment, and nothing can be done as not a single one of the warring sides is prepared to make compromises. Second, the United States will continue sending humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, an action whose volume surpasses a similar one, Berlin 1948-1949. He also mentioned the military action in which almost nobody believes any longer.

Therefore, the world is slowly getting used to the war in the heart of Europe. The fatigue with the topic of the former Yugoslavia is obvious, just as the case used to be with Lebanon or Palestine. Well, if wars that lasted for decades happened there before the eyes of the entire world, why the same cannot happen in Europe? Why would the old lady be any better? Why would the Balkans be any better?

However, it is loneliness that one should fear most and it seems that this is what has started happening to us. At least it seems so when looking from New York. Serves us right.

Albanian Affair Threatens Interethnic Peace

AU2411172093 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 20-21 Nov 93 pp 4,5

[Branko Geroski commentary: "Playing With Fire"]

[Text] The affair on the obstructed attempt—by a group of Albanians led by (as far is known or publicly stated) only a high government official—to create a paramilitary formation is now reduced to (a judicial) epilogue. The police and political file on this case has been closed. Now, after a day-long catharsis and several days of public exaltations, the Government can take a long breath and soberly assess its own failures in the political dimensions of the case.

There were several of this nature. After the highly unskilled promotion of the fruitful action of the police (all agreed about that), which can be considered as the major failure in the whole affair, the hesitations in determining the level of involvement of the coalition partner PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] in the whole affair introduced a total confusion. Thus, after the

name of Deputy Health Minister Imeri was brought to light, a person who—if involved—could directly link the group with the PDP leadership, thus compromising the cabinet, the presumption of PDP involvement reached its highest intensity. Just after that, such a link was denied, and the ball was thrown to the other side, to a point which suggested absence of any involvement of the Albanian political partner in the affair.

Political Determination

Everything was based on a very bad estimate. The PDP did not use the best possibility of dissociating itself from the plotting group. Instead, in its statement that was delayed for two whole days, the party tried to explain the attempt as a naive act of arming a group of people who understood things wrongly. This communique, the fruitless search for the mysteriously missing minister Imeri, the ambiguities concerning the party role of Deputy Defense Minister Haskaj and the arrest of the PDP Debar branch leader Cani, moved the ball somewhere in the middle—in between the thesis that the group was directly led by the PDP and the Albanian Government and that this party was absolutely innocent in every aspect of the case.

The bitter impression of all those oscillations remained. The opposition, in using the unique possible way of opening a parliamentary discussion on the affair, in order to force, perhaps, the SDSM and the Liberals to a political defloration of the partner, tried to make use of the discrepancies and the dilemmas which emerged from the government version of the affair. The assessments on the success or failure of this latest involvement of the Crvenkovski cabinet were opposed from victory to a crash of the opposition.

The real assessment has remained somewhere in between. Namely, the opposition really did not succeed in proving that the government was not controlling the situation, that state security was put at risk, that the concept of coexistence was to be blamed for everything because it was giving concessions to the Albanian side. However, it had to be confirmed that the oppositionists succeeded in cutting off the most painful parts of the cells of the whole affair.

As a matter of fact, the pathetic prayer of the Socialist leader Popovski to make the PDP dissociate publicly with the terrorist group, as well as the party statement of the liberals which demanded—more or less—the same, (a public justification about Haskaj's passing through the personnel mechanism of the PDP) only proved what was assumed. In the subtext of the case between the coalition partners, it was obvious that a difficult, perhaps also dramatic struggle, was being waged for a political determination of the affair.

Monstrous Theses

One day, perhaps, the details of that struggle will be revealed, but it is now clear that: In the coalition marriage the standard rule of the game was broken and

that was mostly endangering the global political concept of interethnic relations. Thus, the partner was publicly discovered in "adultery", but it was, nevertheless, swallowed up. We, the people of the Balkans, are not used to such solutions of the marriage crises (in life and in policy), but this case demonstrated it is never too late to start learning. The authority and the coalition, according to some, or the concept, according to others, were saved, but this time a really high price had to be paid.

Here, the following has to be said directly: This or any other government can be replaced, but the presence of the Albanian factor in all the political and state institutions—not a factor of our choice, or our criterium, not a factor of "honesty" and "loyalty," but the legal representatives of the Albanians in Macedonia—leave no other alternative. Not because it provides this government a survival until the forthcoming elections (which is true) but because it really means survival for Macedonia, at least before the creation of a more normal and relaxed atmosphere in the region. And also after that.

During the past days we were on the verge of demolishing that constellation, so stupidly and simply, regardless of all the dramatic consequences to follow. And the statements made by the parties and the leaders about their members were varied in the course of the past several days. The NDP, for instance, was prompt in accusing the authorities of making a political process, resolutely asking for the release of the arrested. The Democratic Forum from Gostivar made the same request, and journalists were advised to avoid exclusivity and not to urge military formulations. The Gostivar NDP branch went beyond asking for an explanation about the Ohrid Protective Committee allegedly consisting of 100,000 armed members. This branch even concluded that each population has the right to self organization in order to protect itself from discrimination.

The monstrous theses came from the other side, in an almost identical tone. The DKM [Democratic Party of Macedonia], for instance, stated that the slogan for coexistence is an instrument for digging the grave of Macedonia. Or an extract from the arsenal of requests forwarded by VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Party-Democratic Movement] leader Golubovski.

He asked for the suspension of the PDP and the NDP, the expulsion of all Albanians from the Macedonian Army and the Interior Ministry, for a reexamination of the mandate of all delegates—Albanians—in the parliament, for the introduction of death penalty for crimes against the state, for a curfew.... The public, upset even without the parties' statements, was verbally bombarded with uncontrolled statements and promotions of extreme political, and even military options.

At Least a Chance

It is not necessary to be particularly intelligent to understand that the tender "balance of fear," as psychologists

usually call the peace in the sphere of interethnic relations, has been disturbed. One should not have presentiments, but now it is sufficient to have a spark to cause a real explosion. However, even without that, a pathetic lamenting over the situation to which we have been brought can make clear to everybody that games have been forbidden.

If at the time the affair was discovered it was not politically opportune to call the Security Council or the council on interethnic relations (why did everyone forget about the latter), the impression was it was necessary to summon a multiparty and multinational competent body with the aim of returning the conflict back to the institutions. That is why we have institutions—to absorb the conflicts, to make the politicians quarrel, and not the people.

Despite everything it is high time for the politicians to draw a conclusion. The Albanian politicians must understand that by dragging the conflict outside the institutionalized policy, they will lose a reasonable partner or opponent. Here we have in mind the total Macedonian political infrastructure, including the opposition, headed by the VMRO-DPMNE. In such a situation, on the other side of the "front", there will be people sharing Milosevic's concept for the "solution" of minority questions. There is no such force which can stop the aggression of such a political option and then it will not matter who its representatives will be.

On the other hand, the Macedonian political factor must be faced with the evident scenario prepared in case of expelling the Albanians from the political and state institutions. In such a case, the proclamation of political autonomy would follow, based on the referendum, that is the proclamation of a parastate, a parapolice, and paramilitary institutions, and everything that belongs to a state. That would probably be supported by the West. Let us not forget: beside the population, the Albanians in Macedonia also demonstrated an economic and political, and we would also dare say, a military expansion—after the last event.

Some will say: all that was not by accident, all that was a part of a secessionist scenario, all that cannot be prevented at all. Is it true? If there is the least chance of maintaining peace, if there is a chance to gain in time and wait for the solution of the crisis in the region in a quiet manner (everything will be easier afterwards), is it not worthwhile seizing that chance with both hands?

Some will say: all right, but not in this way. Maybe they will be right. In the concrete event—the opposition and the position—had huge failures. Some more, some less, but the outcome was common. However, that is still not a good reason for abandoning the general concept. Not because it is the best. It is real, and it was an indication for our concept in the establishment of the democratic institutions, and moreover—we have no other way!

Kosovo

Pristina Radio To Extend Albanian Broadcasting

*AU2611181093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 93*

[Text] Pristina Radio plans to extend its Albanian language broadcasting by two hours a day. As stated at a news conference, this will enable the editorial board to better perform its role of disseminating information in the languages of national minorities.

The additional two hours of programming will be broadcasts in the morning, and, as stated by Ilijaz Duka, editor in chief of the Albanian language program of Pristina Radio, will contain news and programs that will affirm the creativity of the Albanians in Serbia.

The editorial board of Pristina Radio's Albanian language program only has 20 employees, who work under very difficult conditions, primarily because of the pressure exerted on them by Albanian separatists.

It was announced today that research shows that Pristina Radio's Albanian language program is gaining more listeners every day.